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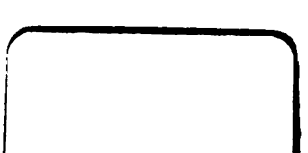

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PEGU,

BEING A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS DURING

THE SECOND BURMESE WAR,

FROM AUGUST 1852 TO ITS CONCLUSION IN JUNE 1853.

With a Succinct Continuation down to February 1854.

BY WILLIAM F. B. LAURIE,

LIEUT., MADRAS ARTILLERY,

AUTHOR OF "A NARRATIVE OF THE OPERATIONS AT RANGOON IN 1852," "ORISSA," ETC., ETC.

WITH PLANS AND SKETCHES,

BY OFFICERS OF THE FORCE SERVING IN BURMAH.

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TO ALL OFFICERS,

NAVAL AND MILITARY,

WHO WERE EMPLOYED DURING

THE SECOND BURMESE WAR,

THIS VOLUME,

CONCLUDING A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS WHICH MAY SERVE

AS A CHRONICLE TO A FUTURE GENERATION,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY THEIR FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

TONGHOO, *July* 1853.

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PREFACE.

AFTER writing five Chapters of the Volume which the Author has now the honour to present to the Public, his Company was ordered to form a portion of the Martaban Land Column. Accordingly, leaving his elevated residence at the base of the Great Pagoda at Rangoon, a slight regret at parting being fully cancelled by the hopes of beholding new and stirring scenes in a country which to him possessed much that was interesting, he went forth with a cheerful heart, fresh for adventure. No opportunity offered for continuing the Work until after arrival at Tonghoo, where he resumed his labours, and eventually had the pleasure of seeing his Narrative,—with its subject,—brought to a close. During the march, as might have been expected, there was much to observe; and the constant habit of keeping daily notes never having been once infringed upon, in but few instances has the Author

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been under the necessity of calling forth memory to his aid. The entire Volume may be said to be written from numerous carefully collected Notes, for a large number of which the Work is indebted to the kind and liberal exertions of Officers serving with the Army of Burmah. To write anything like a correct Narrative such assistance was absolutely necessary, and very rarely has the Author been compelled to depart from his proposed rule of not venturing on any ground unless Notes were furnished by one engaged, or a spectator.

It is natural to imagine that such oppressive heat as that which has been experienced in Burmah during the past season would tend to burn up, as it were, the mental energies of a writer. A distinguished literary Bengal civilian,* of days gone by, has a Calcutta stanza for the month of May, to the following effect:—

"But all in vain I sigh for lands
Where happy cheeks with cold look blue;
While here, i' the shade, the mercury stands
At ninety-two."

But what is this to Prome and Tonghoo, the former Principalities of the Kingdom of Ava, where in the

* Henry Meredith Parker.

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shade the mercury has stood at 105° and 108° for several days together? To heat therefore, as well as to the din of war and the frequent difficulty of procuring correct information, many failings may be attributed. And yet, after all, the Author is not sure if he could have sent forth a better book from his quiet "Owl's Nest" in the old Tower at home! Perhaps too much attention has been paid to military detail, which to non-professional readers cannot be nearly so interesting as that which relates to "society and manners," and which details, critics say, form the life and soul of a literary picture; but although nothing more than a military account is here attempted, the former will be found not to have been altogether neglected, proving at least a wish to give the work something of a general character. To the vast numbers of his countrymen who must have felt an interest in this War it is to be hoped that a faithful chronicle of events is here presented.

To the Officers who have illustrated the Work the Author tenders his warmest thanks. To the London Press, for the consideration, attention, and even praise, that has been bestowed on his former Volume, he feels particularly grateful. Such encouragement, he trusts, will be found to have had its

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result in the preparation of the present Volume; no man having a right to listen to "the voice of praise" who does not look upon it as an incentive to increased endeavour.

A variety of interesting matter has been thrown into the Appendix which it was not necessary to introduce elsewhere, but which will be found to contain much that is illustrative of the character and action of the Second Burmese War.

W. F. B. L.

Tonghoo, *July* 1853.

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THE

SECOND BURMESE WAR.

CHAPTER I.

OUR POSITION.

NOTHING has ever been said or written more characteristic of the British mind, with regard to general conquest or success, than the great Nelson's well-known reply to Captain Berry, before the memorable battle of the Nile. When Nelson informed him of the plan of attack, the delighted Captain exclaimed—"If we succeed, what will the world say!" "There is no *if* in the case," replied Nelson; "that we shall succeed is certain: who may live to tell the story is a very different question."

Here was confidence; and in this confidence lies the grand secret of nearly all our successes, naval and military, from the time when the insatiable ambition of Napoleon the Great led him to Egypt—that he might the better devise plans for the destruc-

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tion of British power in India—down to the day when Rangoon fell into our hands—we trust for ever; and the well-timed capture of this valuable possession by the Government of British India perhaps saved it from becoming a prize to gratify the ambition of America. With like confidence Clive conquered India when the power of France in the East was in the ascendant, and Dupleix, with his mighty schemes, sought to be lord of all. With this angelic attribute Warren Hastings consolidated the conquered Empire, and, confident that he had done his best for his countrymen in such a vast field of labour, went fearlessly through that long and important trial, which has furnished a grand subject for the brilliant pen of Macaulay. With confidence also, when a storm was gathering around us, the Marquess Wellesley defeated French, Mahratta, and Mogul political scheming, and won for himself an imperishable name in our Indian Annals. With like confidence Wellington began in India that extraordinary career of success which led him on conquering and to conquer, until Napoleon fell, and the peace of Europe was established. But why enumerate more examples of men who have shunned mistrust and embraced confidence? Suffice it to say, that to such confidence our most distinguished Governors-General and Military Commanders, who have played their parts well in Hindustan's wide theatre, will owe much of the credit that may be given them by generations yet unborn.

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The great Political, it would seem, must be confident in himself rather than in others. The great General, again, must be rather more confident in his soldiers than in his own tact or skill. Some may object to this, and declare for an equal share of confidence in both—which, perhaps, is better. These few remarks on a leading cause of success have been suggested by a glance at our position in Burmah, just six months* from the day we left the Madras shore, to which, alas! many who then quitted it, full of life, and hope, and joy, shall never more return. It is a position achieved by us from confidence in our mental and physical resources. It is a position which has given confidence particularly to the most ancient inhabitants of the country, and has filled them with a cheerful hope, far greater than that they experienced in the last war, of being released from the tyranny and oppression of the Government of Ava. It is a position in which so much confidence apparent on the side of our paramount power, and, it might be said, on that of the dawn of enlightenment and civilisation, has caused with the enemy to vanish away, in a great measure, that overweening confidence in themselves and their resources which ignorance was rash enough to array in the field against us. The future historian may write that the Second Burmese war was chiefly caused and prolonged by a few blustering Burmese officers, the representatives of a self-interested rabble, whose chief object was to

* This volume was commenced in September 1852.

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fill the golden ear of royalty with false reports, that they might prop up a government fast falling to decay, and with greater vigour sow the seeds of ruin in these fertile and beautiful regions. He will then probably gladly tell how the British power came forward in time of need with that protecting hand which has been so often held forth in similar missions, and which we trust may be so employed until peace secures in her fair dominions the entire human family.

The Burmese Empire, like other Oriental despotisms before it, is worn out by its own vice and tyranny, by its utter incapacity to govern; and yet it has managed to become nearly one hundred years old.

Rangoon, Martaban, and Bassein, are in our possession, to the infinite delight of the Peguese, or former lords of Burmah. The Irrawaddy, that noble highway, or rather grand artery of the country, is in our hands, which has enabled us for some time to cut off the enemy's resources. General Godwin, with a British force consisting of between two and three thousand men, with a fair proportion of artillery, is on his way to take possession of Prome, and to establish—we trust finally—as ours, that ancient boundary between two kingdoms; and many a glad heart has gone along with the gallant veteran, steaming up the magnificent waters, rejoicing in being free from the monotony of life at Rangoon. The Bay of Bengal continues to keep up its own animated scene, and its billows are fresher than ever,

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as if they shared the joy of the Irrawaddy, while the steamers and transports rush across the blue waters with brave reinforcements for the "Army of Ava."

Who will deny that such vigour is highly creditable to the Indian Government? that such energy and such resources do infinite honour to our Indian Empire, which, although it is not yet a century since Clive won Plassey, is now the wonder and admiration of the world? But in the face of this hard-won glory there are still some good people in England, perhaps among them those who love above all things to make a public "show," who, to adopt what may be a Free-Trade quotation, see or read of "nothing but growth," and for the most part talk of "nothing but decay!"

Among those who have rendered service in any profession, which has gradually worked its way up to public favour, and look back with pride to the day they entered it, not the least important are the members of that army which, "originating in a few gunners' crews and factory guards, has, in the course of not quite two centuries, swollen to that gigantic and well-disciplined host known as the Company's Army." * And now, six months after our arrival, far beyond the country of its birth, it has sent forward a gallant portion of its sons on another grand enterprise, as pioneers to clear the way for justice and civilisation.

* Begbie's "*Services of the Madras Artillery.*"

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To carry on the chain of this humble Narrative, the reader must start from the conclusion of the first Volume; and it shall be our endeavour while rambling along, without respect to any particular style, to include as much general and interesting information as it is in our power to give under the circumstances, regarding the people and portions of these "golden dominions" to which the energy and enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon have brought him.

"The energy and enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon!" What a vast field for reflection do these words present to the mind! They concern not one country, not one system of laws, not one sovereign, not one creed, but they have to do with many countries, many legal systems, many sovereigns, many creeds. In these eight words is a power which may, in one sense, be likened to the Hindu deity with four heads and numerous arms; but which, unlike that mythological symbol, is not destined to exhibit only the likeness of a wonder-working exterior; for it must travel over the earth, put down tyranny and oppression, encourage industry and commerce, promote learning and the true religion, and every art and every science, so as to aid the grand cause of universal justice and freedom here, and assist in teaching others to hope for the reward of their being, in those high destinies which most surely await all the sons of earnest and useful progress!

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CHAPTER II.

MARTABAN.

FROM the former portion of this Narrative the reader may have gained some slight idea of Martaban. It was thrice briefly touched upon:—first, on the occasion of our attack and capture at the commencement of the war; then a few remarks were given concerning the beauty and probable utility of the Province; then came Moung-Shoay-loang, the notorious Dacoit chief—the Rob Roy of these fertile regions—who was sent from Ava by the Golden Foot to retake Martaban, or forfeit his head in the event of failure. He did signally fail; but we have yet to learn whether Moung-Shoay's head is off, or still upon his shoulders. Notwithstanding the cheapness of heads in this country, the latter is the most probable conclusion—Dacoit chiefs may have a head to spare. While presenting a record of this daring design to re-capture Martaban, nothing was said regarding the gallantry of the troops engaged. The enemy mustered in con-

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siderable strength, but they were vigorously repelled through the exertions of our small force, foremost in which ranked Major Hall, and officers and men of the 49th Madras Native Infantry; and the energy and talent of Commodore Lynch, also the zeal and promptitude of Lieutenant Purvis, were of no ordinary value on this trying occasion. Of the latter officer, and others who were present, it may be well to give the following extract from "Station Orders by Major R. Hall, Commanding Martaban, 10th June 1852:"—"Major Hall tenders his best thanks to Lieutenant Purvis and the detachment of Artillery (Madras) under his command, whose excellent service at the guns prevented the enemy from assembling near us in strong bodies; to Captain Stewart and his detachment of the 49th M. N. I., who pursued them in skirmishing order until they discovered their stronghold..... To Captain Rickards, who proceeded with reinforcements, composed of a detachment of H.M's. 51st K. O. L. I., under Captain Anderson, and a detachment of the 49th, under Captain Coxwell; but whose arrival to rout the enemy was unfortunately anticipated by the gun-boats of the *Feroze;* and to all officers and men engaged on that day." The supreme director of the enemy's attack is said to have been the Ex-Governor of Martaban, who marched from a strong Burmese post called Shoaygyne or Shwé-gyen, on the Sitang River. Some

* Wednesday 26th May 1852.—See also Appendix, No. I.

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have ventured to affirm that it was "a military blunder" our not taking and occupying that post instead of Martaban. Looking attentively at their respective positions on the map, and especially considering the proximity of Martaban to Moulmein (Meelmyne), the British Cantonment, it is difficult to see how any military blunder was committed under the circumstances. To have occupied Pegu and Shoay-gyne after Rangoon, Martaban, and Bassein, would have been well, had sufficient troops been available; such not being the case, General Godwin, we think, did the best in his power. At the same time it is much to be regretted that after virtually taking possession, he had not then sufficient troops to spare for the occupation of such an important post as Pegu.

Supposing we had not captured Martaban, might not an overwhelming, emboldened, desperate band—ruffians like those of the gang of Moung Shoay-loang—have come down like a torrent on Moulmein? and might not a few "Lady Sale's" fair prisoners, have given us trouble for weeks to come?

A lady some time ago wrote a vivid description of our capture of Martaban, "the attack on which place, with the landing of the troops, was distinctly visible from Moulmein. On the morning of the 5th April all the inhabitants of that station assembled with telescopes at Battery Point to watch the crossing of the troops and the operations that followed. The sight was most beautiful; the

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steamers commenced crossing the river at 6 A. M., and at 8 o'clock the British flag was flying over the town !"

Dacoity has long been pursued as a profession at Martaban and the adjacent Provinces. Here this gang-robbery, on a large scale, appears to have been carried on with as much ferocity as by those troops of Mahratta and Pindarree freebooters so prominent in Indian history, who came down from their wild regions of hills and rivers like a flash of lightning on the helpless. But this, strictly speaking, is rather the destructive propensity of the Pindarrees than of the Mahrattas. Although the latter regarded plunder as an important part of their policy, still an inclination to domestic life, and a strong wish to attain political power, often subdued the latent desire for utter ruin and desolation. The aim of the Pindarree was "not to possess a district, but to sweep away all that is in it." We liken, therefore, the Burmese freebooters rather to the Mahrattas, acting with some skill and wisdom on what for generations they have considered to be the "good old rule,"

> "The simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can !"

Probably, like the Pindarrees, their bands are continually augmented by persons of idle and desperate character. The Governor of Martaban, for years past, had been a notorious Dacoit; and, doubtless,

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under his auspices, if not under his immediate superintendence, bands of hundreds at different times have crossed over and attacked Moulmein. There is Beling, a stockaded position in the vicinity of Martaban, another rendezvous, of course, for Dacoits, forming also a retreat for the army of robbers. The destruction of this place, and similar dens, we hope to record ere the conclusion of this Narrative.

With reference to the Burmese attack on Martaban before described, there appears to have been some neglect in not occupying and fortifying certain heights. We believe that this drew down censure from the General. And surely in a new country, after conquest, the most important matter for consideration is defence! Greater care was subsequently taken; but notwithstanding such precaution, harassing, by keeping constantly on the alert the small force which held Martaban, the place was again attacked at the end of July. On the 31st of that month the enemy became bold. Simple allusion has been made to this fact at the conclusion of our previous volume, but here is an extract from the columns of a journalist:—

"*August 2d.*—Last Saturday the Burmese were so daring as to take up a position so close to us as to enable them to send a four-pound shot rattling among the Artillery barracks, but fortunately without doing any one harm. Colonel Johnson * deter-

* Commanding in the Tenasserim Provinces.

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mined to attack them in their stronghold, and gave orders to Major Bayly to do so. On Sunday, at gun-fire, they started, and when within range two or three rounds of grape were fired, which caused the Burmese to fly. The iron four-pounder was taken, two wooden guns, and some scaling ladders, but no wounded or dead were seen. So the chastisement inflicted must have been very slight; but it has the effect of keeping the Burmese quiet, as they have not been heard firing since." That they might amuse themselves by firing at us with some security, we are informed "that a stockade was built, to the other side of which they went when our firing commenced, and hid themselves in a large cave that is in the further side of the hill, coming out again when the firing ceased!"

Towards the middle of August the 1st Madras Native Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goldsworthy reached Moulmein, a fortunate arrival, as the garrison there was sadly in need of reinforcement; no little responsibility was attached to guarding a town some four or five miles long, with cantonments, arsenal, and magazine.

Having gone thus far, we now proceed to give a topographical sketch of Martaban, the materials for which have been contributed by Assistant-Surgeon Dickinson of the Madras Army, who lately returned* from that station, where he had medical charge.

* This paper was written in October 1852.

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Martaban is on the right or north bank of the Salween River, nearly opposite Moulmein. The cantonment is situated on a low, flat, piece of ground, having one side facing the river; the remaining three sides are surrounded by jungle and swamp. A portion of the jungle was cleared away by the force occupying this station; after the trouble of clearance, small brush-wood rapidly sprang up, as if to supply its place. No roads are passable during the rains; but in the hot season there is a road leading to Beling, or Billing, which is said to be quite passable. In the neighbourhood of Martaban there are several hills, on ascending which you are filled with enchantment at the surrounding views;—from the hill stockade alone there is a series of beautiful views—picturesque woodland scenery, luxuriant foliage, giving and taking beauty while reposing beside the numerous silvery creeks. In the ground there is much rock; and the soil appears to be a dark clay. The water is generally bad, and only one well could be found which supplied any water that could be considered drinkable. The water in the other wells was found to be very full of *animalculæ*, with a disagreeable flavour of an aluminous nature. As a station, Martaban at present is very unhealthy; the troops stationed there suffered severely from fever,—arising from constant exposure at night, together with the combined influence of jungle and swamp. When the land wind blew a most unpleasant and unhealthy odour pervaded the atmosphere. Outside

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the stockade there is a hill, around which a stockade (independent of the lower stockade) was erected; and on this work several guns were planted, commanding a long range of ground. Within this hill stockade is a tank, full during the rainy season, the water of which was perfectly green; and here were stationed about two hundred men. The per centage of sickness was very high, being 40 per cent! At low water the Commissariat elephants could wade across the river. As a military station it is thought that Martaban must be abandoned. Ever since the British have known the Province it has been considered a feverish country; and it was no uncommon thing for Surgeons to cross over to the Governor or his suite to render assistance! It is a wonder that these medical philanthropists, like the immortal Surgeon Boughton, were not rewarded in some substantial manner; such generosity on the part of a Governor of Martaban might have saved us a second Burmese war! From medical aid what great events have sprung! If Boughton were to appear now among us, he would find a little difference in our power since the year 1634, when in the Deccan he cured the Emperor Shah Jehan's daughter, who had been severely burnt by her clothes taking fire. As a reward, it is well known, the Emperor gave him permission to trade to Bengal FREE OF DUTY. He established himself at Piply, near Balasore, where he set up the English factory. There the English, who now govern the vast empire of India, anchored

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their first ship.* A few years afterwards, Boughton went to pay his respects to Sultan Soojah, the Emperor's son, at Rajmahal. One of the Lights of the Sultan's seraglio was afflicted nigh unto death. Boughton prescribed for the beauty, cured her, and as a reward the Viceroy gave the English permission to establish factories at Balasore and Hooghly, as well as at Piply! But the times have changed, almost universally since then, to Free-Trade as well as to freedom of opinion! Who will venture to say that the commercial and philanthropic surgeon would have thought we suffered from either, while deciding on the state of our progress at the middle of the nineteenth century? We have thus been led away to the Surgeon of Surat, after having exhausted the Notes of our modern Surgeon from Martaban.

* Marshman's "*History of Bengal*," p. 45.

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CHAPTER III.

BEFORE THE ADVANCE ON PROME.

FROM the middle to the end of August every one was busy; and Rumour, with her thousand tongues, was the busiest of all. What business of this month that has not been already narrated, let us now endeavour to supply.

An attack was made on the night of the 14th on a house in the quiet village of Puzendown, almost under our very eyes. This house was occupied by the Ex-Governor of Pegu; and the attacking party consisted of 50 Burmese soldiers—doubtless dacoits—who had been sent from that capital. Their intention was to carry off the chief who, hitherto, had so cleverly eluded their vigilance, proving to his numerous oppressors that the ancient blood of Pegu still ran in his veins. On this occasion the Burmese were repulsed with the loss of two or three killed. The Ex-Governor, we understand, fought bravely with his small band, defending himself in a manner, notwithstanding a severe wound, worthy of the best

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days of Pegu chivalry! Several of the prisoners were brought before Captain Latter.

The Burmese at Prome were said to be employed on an extensive stockade, or rather breastwork, in a commanding position, beyond the fire of the steamers. From 10,000 to 15,000 men were reported to be in and about Prome; 7000 at Pegu; with some 4000 Cassay* horse, and outposts between Pegu and Rangoon; 10,000 men at Shoé-Gyne; and a large force at Beling, near Martaban. Ava was said to be filled with guns; and there were the two fierce brigades, headed by a Picton and an Uxbridge of the Burmese army, styled the Invulnerables and the Invincibles, who were certainly to cut all the English to pieces! The Burmese were not going to await our attack, but they determined to attack us when the rains abated.

Accounts from the steamers up the river reached us that Bundoola, with the various expelled Woons or Ex-Governors, remained at Prome. The Dalla Woon sent a communication to Commander Tarleton proposing a conference on the subject of the war. Tarleton replied "that he had no power to entertain the subject, but that if the Dalla Woon was duly authorised, he would guarantee him safe conduct to Rangoon in one of the steamers. He did not accede to this proposal, but wished to know whether, in the event of his communicating with the Commodore, we would remain below Prome till

* Munnipore.

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matters might be settled. This ruse was so transparent as to indicate but an indifferent opinion of our penetration. His Dalla Woonship was informed in reply, that nothing short of a treaty of peace between the two Nations would stay our proceedings.* The Woon would not trust himself to the mercy of the British General. At Ava his head would surely have gone for losing Dalla. How could it possibly be safe with General Godwin? The Dalla Woon knew nothing about British attachment to an immortal remark made by one William Shakspere long ago, to the effect that "mercy seasons justice." He wished to know what reception he would meet with—what would be done with him? Another authority says, "the true object in view came out then; he conditioned that while he was in treaty the steamers were to cease going up and down the river!" The Nation that produced Lord Palmerston could hardly have been defeated by the diplomacy and cunning of a Burmese Woon.

It may interest some to learn that the transports, such as the *Atalanta*, of four or five hundred tons, employed by the Government at Rangoon as store-ships, or stationed with the army on the Irrawaddy, were paid at the rate of eight or nine rupees per ton, per month. In China, we understand, the transports received twelve rupees per ton. During the last Burmese war the

* From "a valuable communication which we have received from a friend in Burmah."—*Friend of India.*

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enormous sum of twenty-five rupees was given! It must be borne in mind that the expenses attending a good ship are very considerable. Wages, keeping the vessel in repair, and insurance, run away with a large portion of the ship-owner's profits. However, a vessel of six hundred tons, at eight rupees, might do a tolerable "business" in one year of an Indian sea-port or river war—that is, in addition to the amount received for the transport of troops to their destination, which may be put down at say twenty or twenty-five thousand rupees. During the present war the Government, possessing such an admirable fleet of steamers adapted for every service, has obviated the necessity of employing numerous transports. But what has steam done that is not beneficial to mankind?

The "transport" *Mazeppa*, on her way from Calcutta to Rangoon, was wrecked towards the end of August. This is a matter of little general importance; but the brig had on board a considerable quantity of mess supplies for different regiments; and their loss was rather a serious business to numerous military adventurers in Burmah.

The war-steamers *Sphynx* and *Moozuffer* left Rangoon for Madras on the 23d instant, to bring troops for the approaching campaign. The *Fire Queen*, hitherto so useful as a despatch and letter-carrier to and from Calcutta, was now raised to the dignity of a war-steamer. The Commodore has got her mounted with eight 12-pounders, and she is destined

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to share in the glories of the war, following up the recent little success at Prome—and followed in her wake by the *Enterprise*. Captain H. P. Keighly, of the 49th Madras Native Infantry, and Mr Chisholm —the former from Martaban, and the latter from Moulmein, are now here engaged in the preparation of a flotilla of boats for the conveyance of stores and baggage on the movement upwards."*

On the 26th of August the theatre at Rangoon presented a brilliant appearance. The performances were Douglas Jerrold's *Rent Day*, with the Farce of *The Happy Man!* The scenery and decorations of the house were in excellent taste, and the acting was admirable. General Godwin was present on the occasion, and a large audience of officers and men. The drama throughout was listened to with profound attention. Rachel Heywood, Martin Heywood, and the wily Bullfrog, were capital in their respective parts. As an old actor on the Indian boards, one may be allowed to express his approbation by asserting that after witnessing the *Rent Day* at Rangoon he felt a pleasure, surpassed only by that which we might feel after beholding the majesty of a Macready, or the genteel humour of Charles Matthews! Little the author thought, while writing his instructive play, that it would ever be performed off a grand stair-case near the upper terrace of the Shoé Dagoon Pagoda! In the *Happy Man* the principal actor was evidently an amateur

* Correspondent of "*Calcutta Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 3."

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"Power;" and we shall surely live a very long time if there be aught of truth in the saying, "Every time a man laughs adds a day to his life!"

The drop-scene representing the storming party at the eastern entrance on the 14th April, by an Artillery Officer, and a superb fancy scene, painted by an Officer of Engineers, were much admired; while the music was both of a plaintive and a spirit-stirring nature, as if composed to sympathise with the lights and shades of a soldier's life!

On the morning of the 28th an unsuccessful attempt was made to effect a breach in a flank of the west face of the great stockade with two 24-pounders, and two 8-inch howitzers, at respective ranges of about 400 and 600 yards. The detachment employed in this "experimental practice" was from the Madras Artillery. That it would be perfectly useless to attempt the breaching of a stockade with howitzers in any reasonable time several of the officers well knew, for they had carefully examined the construction of the dense, tough, timber wall, which, though lacking the beauty of a work issued from the hand of a Vauban or a Cormontaigne, nevertheless had been raised on simply natural principles of surpassing strength. But many were curious to see what could be done; even the General honoured the scene with his presence; and it is to be regretted that a fair and deliberate trial, even to achieve what seemed to some an impossibility, could not have been given on this occasion. In the first place, the time occupied

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in getting the howitzers through the deep mud to the scene of action was far too long to be pleasant, on account of the sun—for mere practice, to the assembled spectators who of course hoped to witness the experiments in the cool of the morning. To atone for this unavoidable delay every thing was now done in a hurry. One howitzer could hardly be moved from its deep position in the mud to bring it in a fair line with the work; others were pointed too quickly, to admit of much precision; in short, what with Bengal *materiel* with Madras gunners and much haste, the great end of "experimental practice" was defeated altogether. Dead shells and live shells were fired off, but little damage was done to the stockade. There were a few good shots, most of which merely served to open the palisades—if such enormous massive piles can be so called—and then being buried in the thick bank of earth behind, the shell became powerless. With reduced charges it was now thought that a shell might be thrown so as to land and burst *exactly* between the timbers and the earth, when the explosion would rend the former asunder, and thereby accomplish a breach.*

Time and platforms, however, were to assist the next "experiments," one of which was carried into effect on the afternoon of the 6th September, under

* On the foregoing occasion a Service-charge was used, viz.—for the 8-inch howitzers, 4 lbs. of powder; elevation from 3¼ to 3¾ degrees.

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a detachment from the Bengal Artillery. Here, probably, was now presented, in the opinion of some of the force at Rangoon—to those unacquainted with Artillery details—a favourable opportunity for judging of the respective scientific merits of the "strong arm" at the two Presidencies. Here is to come, thought a few, the "tug of war" between Theory and Practice! Madras had not been required to share in the recent glories of the Punjaub; so her Artillery doing any thing remarkable on the field, or away from "home," had become a mere matter of history. It was enough that her practice at Saint Thomas's Mount was celebrated far and wide. With Clive during the most brilliant portion of his career—and in the Mysore, in Egypt, at Assaye, Bourbon, Java, Mahidpore, Nagpore, Corygaum, in Ava, in China—besides a vast number of minor though highly important services—yet what did all signify in 1852? But let us now see how the Artillerymen on the second occasion thundered against the stockade, how the "counterfeit" and more* of the "immortal Jove's dread clamours," tore asunder the enormous timbers and effected an admirable breach in the work!

Such is a faint acme of imagination to which, probably, some would-be scientific critics worked themselves up, before the opportunity of comparison arrived. On the 6th of September, for the two 8-inch iron howitzers, the range was, as before, 600 yards.

* The Shell.

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For the first two rounds only half the service-charge was used, or two lbs. of powder; the elevation was for the first round 7^0, and for the second, $6\frac{3}{4}^0$; the length of fuze was 8-tenths of an inch. The first round was "over," the second hit the bottom of the stockade. For the third, and remaining seventeen rounds, three lbs. of powder were used, with the elevation varying from 4^0 to $4\frac{1}{4}^0$, and the fuze from 7-tenths of an inch to 6-tenths. The following additional details may interest the Artillerist:—In the fifth round the shell grazed 12 feet short, and buried itself in the earth—fuze not exploded. In the eighth round the shell grazed 15 feet short, rebounded from stockade—fuze not exploded. In the eleventh the shell passed through top of stockade and lodged on the rampart—fuze good. Among the other rounds we have—"hit stockade 5 feet from the ground, penetration $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, fuze good;" again, "grazed 50 yards short, hit stockade, penetrated about 3 feet, fuze not seen;" and again, "hit stockade $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from ground, penetration 4 feet—fuze good." On one occasion a hit at the bottom of the stockade produced no penetration; and in another, a hit between two timbers, 4 feet from the ground, produced a penetration of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet—fuze not seen. The timbers of the stockade are of "irregular diameters, and the intervals between them vary," say, from two to three inches, "hence the difference of penetration." The rampart behind the stockade was of clay, in which, it is supposed, the

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fuze choked, as the explosion of many of them was not seen.

On a subsequent occasion* the Bengal Artillery detachment, with live shells, and with the same two 8-inch howitzers, endeavoured to effect a breach or destroy the stockade; but very little injury was done to the sturdy work. The Burmese *savant* who made it seemed to have held our howitzers in as much contempt as Nelson did the broadsides of the French. The question was now solved, not that it is utterly impossible to effect a breach in a stockade with howitzers, by throwing shells and causing them to explode in the right time or place, but that it would be imprudent to attempt it before the fire of an enemy. It would be time and life thrown away.

On the occasion of the Madras Artillery "practice," the explosion of the shells damaged the earthen rampart, blew up one of the wooden ties or binders of the stockade, and would have rendered the place untenable by an enemy, although the effect required, as with the Bengal arm, was not produced.

In these days of militia, martial ardour, or National defence, no excuse need be given for putting some more gunpowder into this Chapter.

The effect produced by bags of powder on the stockade was found to be very satisfactory. It is written in the military books that to throw down a strong palisade, from 30 to 50 lbs. of powder

* September 10th.

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should be used. To burst open a town gate, from 60 to 70 lbs. are required; but it is unsafe to depend upon less than 200 lbs. for that purpose. Much less, of course, will do for an ordinary gate; and as the process is very simple, *all alarmists about French invasion had better look to it.* The leathern bag with the powder is simply hooked upon the gate, "and fixed by means of a piece of portfire passed through a hole in the bottom, and well secured with twine." * Old ladies and gentlemen at home in their castles will observe that even *they* are not safe in case of invasion.

Two hundred lbs. of powder on one occasion made a complete breach in a very strong part of the stockade. At another time the experiment was tried with 100 lbs. The powder was in two bags of 50 lbs. each, which were placed at the foot of the timbers and covered over with sand-bags. Much, but not sufficient damage for a practicable breach was produced by the explosion; so 150 lbs. of powder, or say three bags of 50 lbs. each, may be taken as the proper quantity for effecting a breach in a Burmese or any other strong stockade; yet to make assurance doubly sure, it may be better in most cases to use 200 lbs. Now, the question comes to be, would the enemy allow you

* In no case does it seem desirable to suspend the charge above the level of the ground.—*Aide Memoire.*

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to fix your bags of powder by day or by night? It is just possible he might be asleep on such an occasion. It is highly probable he would be awake! So the safest plan would appear to be, first, to render the place, as much as possible, untenable by the enemy, by enfilading with the most destructive projectiles of Artillery, and then to send forward the pioneers and infantry; the former to clear away abattis, find out some winding entrance, plant ladders, or supply their place by making a breach with powder-bags, sufficient to allow the troops to effect a speedy and extensive occupation of the work. True enough the Burmese are cunning, and in this as in the last war used various artifices for covering themselves from the effects of shot and shell. But a panic soon takes place. One chief cause of our general success in the East is that fertility of resources in time of need and danger which adorns the European mind. Take one of the most remote instances of the many that might be cited in India up to the present day. See Clive at Arcot,* maintaining himself for *fifty days* against a French and Native force! When the enemy's breaching battery brought down fifty feet of wall between two towers, the garrison made a formidable retrenchment behind it, and planted their three field pieces so as to sweep the breach!

A wall and the French bring us nearer to European warfare; so, for the instruction of non-profes-

* October 1751.

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sional readers who may feel an interest in the subject, it may be remarked that against exposed walls good iron guns can breach from a distance of 500 or 600 yards. You commence to fire as near the bottom of the wall as possible, and at each extremity of the side or front; afterwards, the guns are brought to bear gradually upwards till the breach is completed.

Let us now turn again to the Narrative of events at the end of August and the beginning of September.

"The boats of the H. C. steam-frigate *Zenobia* proceeded about twenty-eight miles above Martaban to reconnoitre, having received information that 300 of the enemy were encamped at a village named Ketturhee. The boats arrived in company with the schooner *Pegu*, abreast of the village; and on the 1st of September the second cutter was ordered to pull a-head of the other boats, and endeavour to obtain the strength of their position. She had not proceeded far however, before the Burmese opened a sharp fire with jinjals and muskets, which was speedily returned from the cutter, pinnace, and schooner. The Burmese kept up the contest with great spirit; and the direction of their fire was very good. They commenced with a continuation of jinjal balls, followed by vollies of musketry at the boats and schooner. About forty minutes elapsed before the enemy slackened their fire, when the *Zenobia's* second cutter and pinnace

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pulled for the stockade, landed, and burnt the village to the ground. An immense quantity of ammunition was found and destroyed. The stockade abreast of the river was about 300 yards in length, about ten feet high, and about three feet thick, with a trench cut inside. The work might have made a resolute defence; it was held probably by more than 300 men judging from the number of killed and wounded, which, on account of the boats landing our men so quickly, the Burmese had not time to drag away. The spherical case shell * fired by the artillery-men of the *Zenobia*, on board the *Pegu*, must have done great execution, as it burst with precision among crowds of men who set us at defiance. Our boats were sadly riddled with musket-balls; but fortunately not a single man was hurt. The schooner's crew had some remarkable escapes; her gunner's hat was shot through with a jinjal ball, and immediately afterwards the sleeve of his coat was shot away; the schooner's main boom was shot through in one or two places. The boats of the *Zenobia* and the *Pegu* returned on Wednesday the 2d inst. to the anchorage off the creek, all on board being much pleased with the success of their small yet important expedition. The fatigue and exposure that both officers and men underwent rendered the work of no ordinary nature, the men being on their oars

* Very destructive; producing the same effect as common case or canister shot, but at a much greater range.

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nearly the whole of the time, and constantly wet through. Mr Bondville was also present with three boats of the river Police, and gave great assistance. Eighteen canoes were captured in all." * The Burmese must now pretty clearly see the utter uselessness of this species of "Man of War."

With regard to the capabilities of Moulmein as a building-yard for British vessels of war, the *Times* of that quarter remarks—"Our own forests are still prolific of timber, sufficient for a number of years to come. The Shan forests are known to be of great extent, and the timber must find its way into the Moulmein market, there being no other to which it can be taken with advantage to the traders;" and with regard to the building of vessels in general at this port — For "material and workmanship we believe they cannot be excelled anywhere, while the cost is considerably less than that of either Calcutta or Bombay."

The new ship *Granville* is described "as a splendid specimen of naval architecture;" and the *Tenasserim*, one of our best Indian steamers, was built at Moulmein.

European intelligence had arrived that the Queen had prorogued Parliament in person, on the 1st of July. Her Majesty was pleased to observe in the Speech to the assembled Lords and Commons, with

* "We are greatly indebted to a friend for this account."—*Moulmein Times*. The above has been slightly altered.

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regard to Burmah: "The refusal, on the part of the King of Ava, of redress justly demanded for insults and injuries offered to my subjects at Rangoon, has necessarily led to an interruption of friendly relations with that Sovereign. The promptitude and vigor with which the Governor-General of India has taken the measures, thus rendered unavoidable, have merited my entire approbation; and I am confident that you will participate in the satisfaction with which I have observed the conduct of all the naval and military forces, European and Indian, by whose valour and discipline the important captures of Rangoon and Martaban have been accomplished; and in the hope which I entertain that these signal successes may lead to an early and honourable peace."

The above well-merited allusion by Her Majesty to the conduct of the naval forces would naturally lead any attentive observer of affairs in this war to consider the relative positions of the Royal and Indian Navy on a service purely Indian or Eastern, touching the increase or protection of the East India Company's territories. It is well known that the officers of both services hold commissions from the Crown. What would England and the world have said, if, instead of fighting our great naval battles, Lords St Vincent and Nelson had been employed on coast-guard duty? On a special service, for the interests of the State, should not the preference be given to seniority, combined with vast

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experience, skill, and knowledge? Three very distinguished Indian naval officers, whose vessels* certainly played very conspicuous parts in the naval operations against Rangoon and Dalla, and who had every experience in river steam navigation, had a claim superior to that of any junior officer of the Royal Navy for charge of the flotilla for service on the Irrawaddy, especially as it was composed entirely of Indian steamers. Captain Lynch, Commodore of the Indian squadron, was for seven years unceasingly employed on the navigation of that most difficult river the Euphrates; Commander C. D. Campbell is an officer of Mesopotamian and Scinde River experience; Commander Hewett commanded a steamer during the Chinese War, and distinguished himself there on several occasions. We have a great regard for the "bulwarks" of our native land—the Royal Navy; we think, as will be seen in the former portion of this Narrative, highly of Commodore Lambert and his Commander Tarleton; but it certainly would have looked better to have seen one of these three Indian naval officers commanding the steam flotilla on the Irrawaddy.

* The *Feroze*, the *Moozuffer*, and the *Sesostris*.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE ARMY OF AVA.

AFTER the departure of the Governor-General from Rangoon the most active measures were being taken in Bengal and Madras for the despatch of reinforcements necessary to form one grand whole, under the title of The Army of Ava. The Burmese authorities had not tendered their submission; they had not shown the slightest inclination to enter into terms of peace with us; the Governor-General had now considered what steps it was his duty to take in "the arduous struggle" which had been forced upon him.* It was natural enough to suppose that the blow struck at Rangoon and the other maritime towns would produce some effect in the mind of the King; and it might have done so, had not the

* "If those steps" (striking a blow against Rangoon and Martaban) "should not be sufficient before the rainy season to induce the Burmese authorities to tender their submission and to enter into terms of peace, then it will be for the Governor-General to consider what steps it will be his duty to take in the arduous struggle which will be forced on him."—*Lord Derby in the House of Lords on the 5th of April.*

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channel for communication to the Golden Ear, even of despotic Majesty, been corrupted with lies—lies coined by vile satraps to avert the ignominy and punishment of defeat, and enable them to carry on their trade of oppression a little while longer. With the exception of the tyranny of "blood and chains," for which *Sardanapalus* was not famous, the present condition of the King of Ava and his empire is apt to remind one of that King of Nineveh and Assyria whom Lord Byron has made immortal. Unfortunately, in Burmah, there has been too long the tyranny of "blood and chains," as well as the "despotism of vice:"—

> "The despotism of vice—
> The weakness and the wickedness of luxury—
> The negligence—the apathy—the evils
> Of sensual sloth—produce ten thousand tyrants,
> Whose delegated cruelty surpasses
> The worst acts of one energetic master,
> However harsh and hard in his own bearing."*

Truth would not now, perhaps, be told to the Golden Foot, until it was too late, regarding our chosen instrument of regeneration—one combining speech with action—The Army of Ava!

This army was to comprise three brigades of Bengal and three of Madras troops, or about six regiments of European Foot, twelve regiments of Native Infantry, and a full complement of Artillery, as well as Sappers and Miners; in all some 18 or 20,000 men.†

* Act I, Scene 2. † Appendix, No. II.

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The following arrangement of the reinforcements from Bengal appeared in the *Gazette* of the 25th of August:—

"The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to make the following appointments to the force placed under the orders of Major-General Godwin, C.B.,* commanding the combined forces in Ava, Arracan, and the Tenasserim Provinces.

"Surgeon J. Balfour, of the 67th Regiment, N. I., to be Field Surgeon.

"*Bengal Division.*—Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K. C. B., to command. †

"1*st Brigade* (*now at Rangoon*).—Brigadier T. S. Reignolds, C. B., H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish.

"Captain George F. S. Call, Brigade-Major.

"To consist of—

"H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish.

"40th Regiment Native Infantry.

"67th Regiment Native Infantry.

"2*d Brigade*—Lieutenant-Colonel T. Dickinson, of the 10th Regiment Native Infantry, to be a Brigadier, and to command.

"Captain R. Hawkes, H. M.'s 80th Foot, to be Brigade-Major.

* Lieutenant H. K. Burne, of the 2d (Grenadier) Regiment N. I., had been appointed Military Secretary to the Major-General.

† Captain Bruce, H. M.'s 18th R. I., appointed Assistant-Adjutant-General.

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"To consist of—

"Her Majesty's 80th Foot.

"10th Regiment Native Infantry.

"4th Regiment Sikh Local Infantry.

"*3d Brigade.*—Lieutenant-Colonel G. Huish, C.B., of the 37th Regiment N. I., to be a Brigadier, and to command.

"Captain J. Bontein, of the 37th Regiment N. I., to be Brigade-Major.

"To consist of—

"1st European Bengal Fusiliers.

"37th Regiment Native Infantry.

"Regiment of Loodianah.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Lieut.-Colonel,
"Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
"Mily. Dept."

In addition to the above, there was to be the Light-Field Battery from Dum-Dum. Major Mayhew remained at the head of the Adjutant-General's Department, assisted by Captain Hamilton. Captain Simpson remained at the head of the Bengal Commissariat Department.*

In the *Madras Gazette* of the 27th inst. appeared the following appointment:—"Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Stilles Foord of the Artillery, to be a Brigadier

* Under Major Budd, Madras Army, Deputy Commissary-General of the Army of Ava, with the force since the commencement of the war in April.

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of the 2d Class, and to command the Artillery of the Army of Ava."

"Under the authority of Government, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief directs the formation of the Madras Division of the Army of Ava to be composed as follows:—

"MADRAS DIVISION.

"Brigadier-General S. W. Steel, C.B., Commanding.

"Capt. (Bt.-Major) J. G. S. Neill, 1st Madras Fusiliers, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

"Capt. (Bt.-Major) E. H. Atkinson, 19th Regt. N. I., Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

"Lieutenant E. A. B. Travers, 2d Regiment N. I., Aide-de-Camp.

"Captain (Bt.-Major) W. H. Budd, Assistant Commissary-General.

"Capt. C. Cooke, Dep. Assist. Commis.-General.*

"Capt. T. Gillilan, 5th Regt. N. I., Paymaster.

"*Artillery.*

"Brigadier H. S. Foord, Commanding.

"Lieut. (Bt.-Captain) J. D. Scott, Brigade-Major.

"*Troops.*

"C Troop, Horse Brigade,
"D Company, 2d Battalion,
"D Company, 3d do.
"A Company, 4th do.
} Artillery.

* Lieutenants Walter Cook and W. R. Newlyn, Sub Assistant Commissaries-General.

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"*Sappers and Miners.*

"Captain J. W. Rundall, Field Engineer, Commanding Sappers and Miners.

"Head Quarters A, B, C, and E Companies, Sappers and Miners.

"*First Infantry Brigade.*

"Brigadier W. H. Elliott, K. H., H. M's. 51st King's Own Light Infantry, Commanding.

"Cap. J. Smith, 13th Regiment N.I., Brigade-Major.

"*Troops.*

"H. M's. 51st King's Own Light Infantry.

"9th Regiment Native Infantry.

"35th do. do.

"*Second Infantry Brigade.*

"Brigadier M. McNeill, Commanding.

"Captain D. G. A. Darroch, H. M's. 51st K.O.L.I., Brigade Major.*

"*Troops.*

"1st Madras Fusiliers.

"5th Regiment Native Infantry.

"19th do. do."

Captain Allan, of the 3d Regiment Light Infantry, was appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General to the Army of Ava; while the duties of Deputy Judge Advocate-General continued to be performed by Major Boulderson. Dr Davidson was eventually appointed to the medical charge of General Steel's Staff.

* Cancelling the appointment of Captain Haines, 9th M.N.I., who was afterwards Brigade-Major.

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The Third Madras Infantry Brigade, not included in the above orders, but directed in the *Gazette* of the 23d July "to march to, and embark at the places notified, when directed," consisted of H. M's. 84th Regiment from Trichinopoly to Negapatam; to embark from Negapatam.

The 30th Regiment, N. I., (at Masulipatam,) to embark from Masulipatam.

The 46th Regiment, N. I., from Secunderabad to Palaveram, to embark from Madras.

The B Troop, Horse Artillery, was likewise ordered from Bangalore, to embark from Madras. The Madras 5th N. I., which was originally intended to have shared in the early operations of the campaign, it will be seen is among those sent on actual service. Its place at Kyouk Phyoo was to be occupied by one of the Bengal General Service Corps. Dr M'Cosh had officiated as Staff-Surgeon to General Godwin since the commencement; and Superintending-Surgeon Montgomerie remained at the head of the Medical Department.

It may now interest the curious to glance at the Bengal and Madras Divisions of 1824-26. The former consisted of

Bengal Division.
- The Engineer's Department.
- The Governor-General's Body Guard.
- Horse Artillery (Rocket Troop).
- Foot Artillery.
- H. M's. 13th, 38th, 47th, and 87th Foot.
- Quartermaster-General's Department.
- Commissariat Department.

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The latter of

Madras Division.

Artillery, European and Native.
H. M's. 2d Battalion 1st or Royal Regiment.
H. M's. 41st (General Godwin's Corps), 45th, and 89th Foot.
The 1st European Regiment, or Madras Fusiliers.

Native Infantry.

1st, 3d, 7th, 9th, 12th, 18th, 22d, 26th, 28th, 30th, 32d, 34th, 36th, 38th, 43d, 1st Battalion of Pioneers, Provisional Battalion,—Staff, and Bombay Artillery.

The 10th and 16th Regiments of Madras Native Infantry also served in the last war.

The Queen's 45th, the 1st N. I., the 32d N. I., and the 36th N. I., arrived at Rangoon at the very close of the campaigns, in addition to General Godwin, and Sir John Cheape (Bengal Engineers).

The officers at Rangoon during the present war, who served in the last, were few. We believe them to have consisted of General Steel,* Colonel Duke and Major Hill (1st Madras Fusiliers), Colonel Poole, (5th M.N.I.), Major Roberts (9th M.N.I.), and Major Burgoyne, commanding the C Troop, Horse Artillery. The 26th N. I., at Martaban, had still Colonel Johnson, Majors Halpin and Bayly, who served with the "Ava Field Force" in 1824-25 and .26. The defence of Kemmendine has been alluded to in our former work.—Of the 30th N. I.,

* Who was in the Quartermaster-General's Department.

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ordered to prepare for service in Burmah, Major M'Leod served in the last Ava campaign, and was afterwards employed in various civil and political duties in the Tenasserim Provinces.

Perhaps the most distinguished Madras Artillery Officer in the last war was the present Colonel Montgomerie, C.B., now in Europe. General Burton, Colonel Alcock, Major Begbie, and Major Moore, of the same corps, are also associated with the campaigns in Ava.

On the 5th of April (1852), in the House of Lords, the Earl of Ellenborough endeavoured to shew that the present war might prove more serious than we contemplated. Is it not so with nearly every war engaged in by any Nation? The following is interesting,—"In the last war with Ava," said his Lordship, "we employed no less than 40,000 men," but he doubted "whether in the end 10,000 were left fit for duty. The army in Arracan had wasted away, and was unable to co-operate with the other forces. We have undoubtedly some advantages now we did not possess then." Very true. But it would seem to be a general misfortune as far as all our Commanders of distant armies are concerned, that at home advantages as well as disadvantages are sadly misunderstood: And if then there was such a lamentable return of the expense of human life, how sad to count the survivors now, seven or eight and twenty years after, when death has been busy in removing from the world so many of that once

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brilliant host who went forth from our Indian shores with a soldier's thirst for glory!

In the same speech it was remarked that on the departure of Native Infantry Regiments from Madras for Burmah, the families of the Madras soldiery would be left in misery; also that such a departure had a mutinous tendency.* The refusal of the Bengal corps, however, was more the fault of the system than of the sepoys. To these prognostications an able Indian journalist well replied after the first operations were over:—"Never did the Madras soldiery manifest greater alacrity to go on foreign service. One regiment alone in Bengal, the 38th Native Infantry, refused to proceed on board ship, but its place has been supplied by a dozen others who have volunteered for Ava with a degree of zeal and fervor which has never been exceeded in our Native Army." Long may it exist, say we! it is that willingness in all ranks, and in all complexions, to proceed on important active duties, which has so long done honour to the Indian Army. "Commencing with the Battle of Plassey in the last century, and ending with Rangoon in the present year, the history of the Indian Army was one continued blaze of glory!"†

Having included in this chapter so many names of the living, let us pay a short tribute to one of the

* Appendix, No. III.

† The Chairman's Speech on the occasion of the Farewell Banquet of the Honourable East India Company to Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, June 19, 1852.

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dead,—one who, on leaving Rangoon in the middle of May (1852), on account of a dangerous illness, told the writer of this Narrative, whose Company he brought into the field, that he hoped to return and join the army in November. "The loss of Major Oakes was a heavy blow, and this to be followed by the death of an officer of the intellectual calibre and professional promise of Major Hugh Montgomery, constitutes a duplicate disaster."* The careers of these two officers may be said to have closed in the same service; and from their earliest days they were "associated together on terms of the most intimate friendship." They were both volunteers for Burmah; and they had both left situations of considerable emolument to behold the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war." In personal appearance there was a striking contrast. Major Montgomery was of a slender wiry build, and scarcely above the middle height. His countenance seemed ever to wear a pleasing and intelligent expression, sicklied over, one might sometimes imagine, "with the pale cast of thought." In the eye and mouth were pourtrayed energy and decision of character enough to carry a man through many a great trial in life. In some of their pursuits, especially in manly sports, the two friends were similar. They both had a large amount of energy; Major Montgomery had a greater intellect to work it; and certainly in his active life he had many opportunities of putting it to the test.

* *Madras Athenæum*, June 19, 1852.

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No one could meet him in society, or speak to him alone, without being impressed with the idea of having met a perfect gentleman. Major Montgomery arrived in India on the 20th of August 1826; served from 1828 to 1833, first as Riding Master, then as assistant in the Horse Brigade; for a short time commanded the Artillery in Fort Saint George, and was Extra Aide-de-Camp to the Right Honourable the Governor. He served in the Coorg Expedition from March to May 1834, when he commanded a Detachment of Artillery with the Eastern Auxiliary Column, and was present at the affair before Veerajenderpet, and passage of the Cauvery, on the 3d and 4th of April 1834. His name was mentioned in the despatch published in the *Gazette*, dated 23d April 1834, as follows:—"A gun was brought up and served with the usual precision by Lieutenant Montgomery, whilst a party was detached from each flank to carry the breast-work and barriers;" also in Artillery Orders by Captain Seton, Commanding Artillery, Coorg Field Force, dated the 24th of April 1834.

Major Montgomery was attached to the Mysore Commission from October 1835 to the 4th of June 1852 (the date of his decease). He was thanked in General Orders by the Government of India for conduct (when in Civil employ) during the insurrection in Canara in 1837. His services were placed at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief from the 25th of March 1852, when he was appointed to command

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the D Company, 3d Battalion of Artillery, ordered to proceed on field service in Burmah. He was present with the force until the 14th of May 1852, the date of his departure for Calcutta.

The Major was present at the capture of the White House Stockade on the 12th of April; after which affair, on the death of Major Oakes, he was appointed to command the A Company, 4th Battalion. With this he fought at the capture of Rangoon and the Great Shoé Dagoon Pagoda, on the 14th. On these occasions his services were very favourably noticed by General Godwin; and with the others who had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, he received the thanks of the Governor-General of India. Major Back also, in his Report to the Brigadier Commandant of Artillery, brought to notice the able and gallant manner in which "he took into action and fought the Light-Field Battery."*

"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

The news of the Major's death, it was said, deeply afflicted His Highness the Rajah of Mysore, who had been intimately acquainted with the departed for several years, and shed a gloom over the whole Durbar.

* Most of the particulars of this Sketch are drawn from the *Madras Artillery Records*. Vol. XV., No. VIII. August 1852.

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CHAPTER V.

NOTES IN SEPTEMBER.

In Rangoon, at the commencement of September, many were looking forward to a speedy change of scene, and hoping to be employed in carrying out some decisive measures, which might give a brilliant termination to the war. It was to be a month of action. The steamer *Fire Queen* and the *Monarch* transport proceeded to the entrance of the great river, in the Panlang creek, some seventy or eighty miles from Rangoon, through which the transport was towed into the Irrawaddy.* The authorities in the Quartermaster-General's department were indefatigable in the construction of a river flotilla. Boats of every size and shape were now being provided for the conveyance of troops, commissariat, and ordnance. Many of these boats were from five to ten tons each, seaworthy, and waterproof. A light field battery, to be manned by the Madras Ar-

* Or rather through the Lyne Creek, which branches off northward from the Panlang River.

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tillery, was put on board a large grotesque-looking boat, or old Chinese junk; here were likewise stowed away two 8-inch howitzers—in all, eight pieces of artillery,* which, for the present, were to form the complement with "the strong arm," in the first expedition. There was ammunition at the rate of one hundred rounds per gun. On the 4th instant, the *Hugh Lindsay* steamer arrived from Madras with a portion of the 19th Madras Native Infantry on board.

In a Journal of that Presidency appeared what was intended to supply an "inadvertent omission," regarding the 9th M. N. I., in General Godwin's despatch, published after the capture of Bassein.

When the orders for immediate landing were given, it appears that the gallant party of H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. I. were followed in a boat from the *Moozuffer*, carrying some 70 grenadier and D company men of the 9th Regiment. The soldiers and sepoys, say 430, were formed up close to the river's edge, about 80 yards from the stockades, which were manned by numbers of the enemy. No sooner had the "hurrah!" of the British soldiers, and the "deen, deen!"† of the Madras sepoys rent the air, than the Burmese became discomfited, and "fled like chaff before the wind." The same writer does not

* Exclusive of two 5¼-inch mortars, which accompanied the Sappers to Prome.

† Literally, "The Faith,"—used by the Mussulmen; equivalent to calling on Allah, (God).

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think General Godwin a master in the art of despatch writing, but asserts that our gallant chief had conducted the campaign hitherto "with a talent and energy worthy of a Soult." Neither does the author of this Narrative by any means think the General a master in the above art. But it is apt to strike one, on reading small criticisms on the despatches or official correspondence of public men, how much room there is for censure in almost every instance, with those that way inclined. Considering how difficult it is to please where the interests of so many may be at stake, it would seem wise to be very careful in the indulgence of it. An English sage affirms that the *idler* is generally censorious; and it is not difficult to imagine there are a few of this class in India and elsewhere, who, possessing the germs of literary talent which they have never taken the trouble to mature, flatter themselves that had *they* only had the opportunity of writing a despatch what a grand affair it would have been. There would be the vigour of the Marquis Wellesley and "the Duke," with the rounded periods of Johnson, and the grace and elegance of Addison; and yet truth would not be sacrificed to effect. There would offence be given to none, and justice done to all. Alas! vain hope! To do, is not so easy as "to know what were good to do!" There is the flush of conquest still remaining to excite the mind; the very anxiety to do justice to all may be a barrier to carrying the liberal sentiment into effect on paper.

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It would seem more rational then, as it is certainly more noble, to treat despatch writing with as lenient criticism as possible, for the author of it seldom possesses those advantageous circumstances which *are* possessed by the calm book-worm in his study.

On the return of the *Enterprise* steamer from Bassein, whither she had been sent with stores, the following information regarding the passage up to that port was procured:—"The navigation is difficult, and the channel very uncertain for 45 miles up the river: beyond that it is easy, the river getting deeper, but the bends in some places are so sudden as to require the very best steering to clear the bank in coming round. At Bassein itself, the river is not more than 250 yards broad, and so deep that a vessel might easily come alongside. The bottom was found, by the soundings, to be gravelly and rocky chiefly."* These few notes may be of great use to future navigators in the same water at the beginning of September. The same writer informs us that "Captain Campbell took the *Sesostris* 40 miles above Bassein, to a place where the former chief, with 3000 men, was reported to be located. The enemy, however, received timely warning by the smoke of the steamer, and at once withdrew his force inland, out of the reach of the guns." A Burmese officer of rank under the said chief of Bassein had held communication with our authorities there, and

* Correspondent of the *Englishman*, September 18.

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intimated friendly inclinations towards the British, but in favour of whom he dared not yet declare his allegiance. The presence of the *Sesostris* at Bassein, it may be remarked, was necessary to close a principal outlet of the Irrawaddy to all grain going up country.

The country in that vicinity is described as "peculiarly fertile." Bassein would appear to be a sort of El-Dorado in its way. Silver and golden images were found to be very plentiful, and the European soldiers no doubt turned "the diggings" to their advantage. The small figures, of thin gold, were worth from 12 to 15 rupees each. Taking everything into consideration, gilt ceilings and pillars, golden bells, idols, and bits of gold here, there, and everywhere, there must be a considerable quantity of that precious metal somewhere in Burmah. When all the smaller pagodas in this country are pulled down, some Burmese master of finance may arise to enlighten his countrymen on a "currency question!" Unlike the superstitious and bigoted Hindu, the votary of Gaudama does not view with any great horror the destruction of these petty shrines; they have been erected—destiny has pulled them down—he is satisfied; in his fortunes, spiritual as well as temporal, a regeneration is yet to come. Is not there hope for successful working on such material as this?

A letter from the Governor-General to General Godwin arrived at Rangoon, with reference to a very

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handsome bell which the General had presented to his Lordship in the name of the army during his visit here. In this epistle Lord Dalhousie, we believe, said he was very grateful for the compliment paid him by the army. No doubt, in his old castle in Scotland, his lordship will preserve this trophy of the Second Burmese War.

On the 5th of September news reached us that Bundoola was tired waiting at or near Prome; that he now intended to push on to Ava, where we must go if we wished to find him. The trick was not badly conceived, and deserved a better cause.

We have omitted to mention that towards the end of August Captain Shadwell, of H. M.'s steamer *Sphynx*, proceeded up the river to relieve Commander Tarleton in the command of the flotilla on the Irrawaddy. He went in the *Nemesis*, recently returned from Singapore. The same day on which we were informed of Bundoola's project, H.M.'s ship *Hastings*, of 72 guns, in tow of the *Rattler*, reached the Hastings Shoal. "The two tiers of guns," writes an observer at the time of her arrival, "look well even from Rangoon, and would make the Court of Ava tremble in their shoes could they see them." The *Hastings* carried the red flag of Admiral Austin.

On the 6th it was announced in General Orders that active operations would be resumed on the 18th instant. No more welcome intelligence could have been given to the troops; for notwithstanding some

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comforts now enjoyed at Rangoon, still, having come here hoping for service, they sought for change of scene and an active life.

"The Major-General commanding proposes to resume active operations about the 18th instant. The following regiments will be held in readiness for embarkation on service on that date :—

"H. M.'s 18th R. I.
H. M.'s 80th Regt.
35th Regt. Madras N. I. } Under the command of Brigadier Reignolds, C. B.

"These corps, with a detachment of Madras Artillery and two 8-inch howitzers, and a detail of Engineers and Sappers, will form the 1st Division.*

"In about three weeks after the departure of the 1st Division, the Major-General hopes to embark a second one, consisting of

"H. M.'s 51st L. I.
40th Regt. B.N.I.
9th Regt. M.N.I. } Under the command of Brigadier Elliot, K. H.,

"with a detachment of Bengal Artillery and a light field battery."

On the 7th of the month a portion of the C Troop, Madras Horse Artillery, under Major Burgoyne, also the head-quarters of the 19th M. N. I., under

* Then follow instructions as to baggage, doolies, &c., and directing weak and sickly men to be left at Rangoon under the charge of an officer, who will also look after the surplus baggage.

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Colonel Osborne, arrived at Rangoon.* Lieutenant Jefferis and Dr Mudge accompanied the commanding officer of the C Troop. The remaining portion, with Captains Foulis and Baker, also Lieutenant Peach, would arrive ere a few days had elapsed. During the voyage a few horses were lost, but the others were said to be landed in very fair condition. Of course the Flying Artillery, rivalling "lightning's flash in ruin and in speed," came with the expectation of doing great things in Burmah; and from their well-merited celebrity this was natural enough. But a few months in this country, and even a slight knowledge of Burmese warfare, could not fail to convince many that here the Horse Artillery were "out of place." Horse batteries would suffice for speed, and bullock batteries for standing still, in a region so distinguished for jungle and stockades. The Horse Artillery would be here more useful as cavalry. It was stated at Rangoon that the General did not wish the C Troop over until October; but, considering the bad weather which is generally expected on the Coromandel coast during that month, it is as well they came in September.

Since the beginning of August the Engineers and Sappers had been exerting themselves, with their accustomed energy, in taking measures for the defence of the upper and second terraces of the Great Pagoda.

Brigadier Foord had written for 16 or 18 9-pounders for the second terrace; while some handsome

* In the transport *Royal Stewart*, towed by the *Feroze*.

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pieces of various calibre on the first could sweep the country far and wide. In the defence of this citadel Burmese and European skill were happily combined. The north side, in which the steps are uncovered, presented a striking example of this, and impressed one with the idea of Woe be to the assailants who would venture against the British fortress of Rangoon!

On the 8th of September H. M.'s ship *Hastings* anchored a little below the *Fox* frigate;* and the *Rattler* left for Calcutta. By this time also the *Sesostris* had returned from Bassein, and was under orders for Prome. The *Nemesis* had been exercising her "vindictive quality" up the Irrawaddy, and had arrived with some captured war-boats at Rangoon. After these details, which may not be very interesting to the general reader—however necessary they may be to the completeness of this Narrative—let us change the subject for a short time, and supply a page or two of varied information. Such change may be beneficial to our "Notes in September." The geology of the vicinity of Rangoon may be almost summed up in the one word, *Laterite;* but some of the staircases have large blocks of fine granite, which probably were brought from the other provinces.

For one stone you may by chance find near the Great Pagoda, you will be able to procure at least one hundred bricks:—not a *stone* "to throw at a

* Opposite the town of *Rangoon*.

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dog!" After this perversion of the text of a saying by one of Shakspere's sweetest heroines,* let us now proceed to look at the dress of the Burmese.

COSTUME.—A BURMESE FEAST.

THE long flowing robes, which give the females of India such a graceful and classical appearance, we look for in vain in Burmah.

The lower orders simply wear a sort of jacket, white or any other colour—open in front; at the base, or near the centre of this garment, a robe, reaching nearly to the feet, is fixed or tucked in round the body, just covering the lower portion of the bosom. This robe is composed of two pieces sewn together—the upper piece being of red cotton stuff, while the other is frequently of silk, or, if too poor to afford it, of some fantastically coloured substitute. Small shoes, or sandals, are worn by the women, and these are extremely simple and primitive in construction. The wealthier females adorn themselves, but not so profusely as those of Hindustan, with jewellery. The poorer classes have the rose and other flowers of the country to adorn their jetty tresses. The men wear a rude cloth round the loins, with a muslin ring of turband only, displaying economy in its strictest sense; the higher classes wear the turband in full, flat and ungraceful in form, with a smart jacket and under *toga*, in part tucked in like the dress of the women; shoes also, with a handsome dah,†

* Rosalind. † The universal weapon of Burmah.

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complete the costume, which in some instances is striking enough. The nob of hair, and ears bored, also the pendent lobes, like Gaudama,—the ears boasting for the sake of ornament an unfinished cheroot or piece of wax candle, to ensure the safety of which the holes in these valuable organs are carefully distended,—are held in considerable importance by the men of this country; nor do the fair sex neglect the wax candle ornament, and smoking appears with them to be a favourite pastime, as it is also with their children. It was amusing one day to observe a fruit-woman, cheroot in mouth, attempting to bargain with an European soldier by means of sounds and signs perfectly unintelligible to him. Finding that she made no impression, she took up her basket, placed it on her head, and walked off, smoking as coolly as possible! Sterne could have moralized on the picture. The Burmese children appear to be smart and intelligent. On one occasion, while loung-ing down the principal street of Rangoon, we took particular notice of two sharp-looking Burmese *chokerahs*,* seated by the road-side, each with his little table, and the pice counted out upon it, ready to change money for the passers by. These juvenile money-changers, as they sat, gave a rupee an occa-sional ring, tossing it with the air of men well up to their business; they receive one pice, or three pie—the fourth of an ounce, or of three halfpence—for changing a rupee.

* Boys.

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We now turn to a Burmese feast when the upper terrace of the Great Pagoda was crowded with Poonghees, and people chiefly from Kemmendine in every variety and shade of costume. By the base of the graceful banian curiosity—described in the former volume—beside the old green walls of the building—sat two Poonghees, as usual in the fashion of Gaudama. One of them was praying fervently in a moderate tone of voice, whilst the congregation, seated around, repeated what he said * at the conclusion of each prayer or sentence, bowing to the ground three times. The greater portion of the audience appeared to be women; but several old men were there—patriarchal looking fellows, with their long staves. At the same time all around Gaudama's Temple din and animation reigned to the utmost—gongs sounding, people talking, laughing, and praying. The sun, now beginning to shine from a bright blue sky, aided the fantastic beauty of the lively scene, causing also the sacred silvery posts to borrow beauty from its rays. Every colour for dress seemed to have been brought into operation. Some of the females, with Tartaric countenances

* "In Ceylon, upon some of the festivals, one priest reads from the original Pali, and another interprets in the Vernacular Singhalese; but this method is not very frequently adopted. Whenever the name of Buddha is repeated by the officiating priest, the people call out simultaneously *Sadhu!* which gives them a participation in the proceedings, and prevents them from going to sleep.—*Calcutta Review*, No. XXXII, Art. "Eastern Monachism."

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not pleasant to look upon, wore elegant handkerchiefs or scarfs over the shoulder. Several of the small children were very fair in appearance, and were dressed in fancy style; one with a green silk boddice, turband of yellow and red, and silver ornament on the foot. At the conclusion of the Poonghee's oration, large red painted dishes were filled with the boiled rice, which, as offerings, in smaller plates, had been placed before him; and a well-filled dish was set aside for each cluster of applicants, who immediately commenced their morning meal in good earnest. The women rendered the rice palatable by means of mango, fish, chili, prawns, and other savoury ingredients, proving themselves not unskilled in gastronomical science; added to this, tumblers of genuine glass, like our own, shewed symptoms of coming civilisation; and that with more speed than in the land of Vishnu and Siva which we have held for nearly one hundred years. And why is this? simply because the people here are not fettered by CASTE, nor are they subject, as the Hindus are, to a vile priestly dominion! Were it not so, the moral precepts of Buddhism could not be so much more pure and efficacious than those of Brahmanism. In Burmah woman is not her husband's slave but his helpmate; you could observe this even during the simple operation of an occasional feast. In the Great Pagoda, say the Poonghees, or gentlemen of the yellow robe, are deposited the hair and teeth of Gaudama, in a large

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gold vessel: these relics of sanctity, of course, form a chief source of attraction to worshippers at this celebrated shrine. Ceylon is made sacred by the tooth of Buddha—the grand tusk, which is now under British protection. The mighty shrine of Jagannáth, in Orissa, is said to contain the bone of Krishna; and such is "hero-worship" in the East! The intelligent reader is well able to compare it with that of the West. Without the aid of Carlyle, he will surely find a likeness. We shall conclude our observations on the feast by remarking that the Burmese and Talains of every class take off their shoes before entering on the upper terrace of the Shoé Dagoon Pagoda, and that the circumference of the base of this temple is about five hundred yards. The height has been already given as three hundred and twenty-one feet. With this splendid edifice upon it, also the smaller temples, the curious and beautiful trees, and the numerous relics and emblems of religion, the upper terrace cannot fail to command genuine admiration.

On the 10th of September a company of the 35th M. N. I., 100 strong, with a Captain* and two subalterns, proceeded in the *Mahanuddy* to an island (Shouk Shay Khenee,) below Prome, for the purpose of protecting those friendly to us from the attacks of dacoits, or the regular Burmese soldiery.

* Major Brett, 31st M.L.I., doing duty with the 35th; also Lieutenants Haines and Lodge.

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On the same day the remaining portion of the Horse Artillery arrived at Rangoon. The transport of this troop—in three transports—did not cost the Government less than 60,000 rupees.*

For the next few days nothing worthy of note at head-quarters occurred. News reached us that the Burmese up the river were famishing for want of rice. Some ventured to predict that instead of meeting an enemy on our arrival at Prome, we should find the town flooded with beggars, all submission and on their knees, from that great enemy hunger!

The King of Ava still determined to consider all who dared to seek our protection in the light of enemies: perhaps this was natural enough; but the severity he exercised to accomplish this end more than proved that he was working out his own destruction. The number of rice-boats destroyed by our steamers was reported to be very considerable. Little or no rice is grown above Prome; we believe that wheat is the staple commodity in the upper country; but the people there chiefly depend on the rice supplies from the Delta. Towards the middle of the month the weather became hot and sultry; the sun was frequently very powerful, while the musquitoes were as abundant and severe in their sting as ever; and bugs, large black beetles, with

* L.6,000. Add to this sum the expenses attending a troop before it can be embarked on foreign service; and the whole amount will be found very considerable.

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other abominations, certainly did not add to the pleasures of Rangoon life. Beautiful butterflies of every variety and of every hue formed the lights of the picture containing these—to the majority—insignificant details.

Several steamers were coming down the river to be in readiness to convey the troops to Prome.

It was the opinion of some at this time that the steam flotilla had been doing excellent service on the Irrawaddy and at Prome. The steamers had destroyed defences "which the Burmese had attempted to erect, within range of their guns." There were others, however, with a different opinion as to the political success of the steam flotilla's operations. On this point we may touch hereafter. An influential journalist writes that "some of the steamers got aground through ignorance of the navigation of the river, and the villagers hastened down to assist in putting them afloat:" And again, with a very eager and just desire for annexation, revealing at the conclusion of his remarks a very curious fact:—"The people appear indeed to have settled it as an incontrovertible fact in their own minds, that we shall never again resign them to the tender mercies of their oppressors, but continue to retain possession of their country. According to the accounts now received, they attribute it to the signal interposition of a higher power in our favour, and for their deliverance, that *the river has risen higher in the present year than it has been known to rise for many years*, in

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order to enable our steamers to navigate the creeks and the rivers without any obstruction."* Happy, happy, may conquering England indeed be, when she can find in a country possessing a strange belief, a people not only willing to submit to our government, but who pride themselves in bringing in the name of Providence as an agent for our success, and at the same time a writer like our *Friend* to record it!

A document was said to have been found at Meeaday, intended as a report to the King of Ava, in which it was stated that more than 1,000 Europeans were killed during the operations against Rangoon, "and that we set more than 1,000 sentinels all round the camp to defend ourselves!" One thousand sentinels, with earnest eyes, keeping watch around the Great Shoé Dagoon!—Heaven defend us!

Near the island to which, as we have stated, a Company of the 35th proceeded, stood Shoay Doung; we say stood, for it is now a comparative ruin, about six or eight miles below Prome, on the left bank of the river; this was a very populous and flourishing town, at which most of the silk of the district was manufactured. Before the departure of the Company above-mentioned, the Burmese had, in defiance of our three steamers,† attacked Shoay Doung and

* *Friend of India*, September 9, 1852.—"The steam flotilla has captured more than a thousand boats laden with rice, which has been sent down to Rangoon and Moulmein."

† The *Pluto*, *Medusa*, and the *Mahanuddy*.

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burnt a great part of the town; "and not only so," remarks an intelligent writer on this subject, "but they fearlessly came down close to the steamers and fired upon them with jingals and musketry, but of course they did not long stand the steamers' guns; nevertheless it is sufficient to show how brave and daring they sometimes are, and that it would be imprudent to despise them." We shall now give some valuable information, well deserving of a more enduring form than that of a portion of a letter to a Journal: "I presume the coming Treaty will embrace a clause securing to us the navigation of the Irrawaddy to Bummo; and if so, it may be occasionally necessary to remind His Majesty that he is in our power, and I can conceive nothing more effectual than a threat to stop his rice, except the actual stoppage of it. Bummo is only ten English miles from China, with which it is connected by a good road. It is the same distance from Ava above, as Prome is below it, and in the dry season the river up to Bummo might be navigated by our small river steamers with ease. I have no reason to doubt this information, and if true, of course in the rains there is an abundance of water for vessels of much greater draught. It appears therefore that by the Irrawaddy we could have a direct high road into China, which can be rendered available *only* by keeping the King of Ava in our power, for the protection of our commerce; and it seems equally evident that nothing short of the possession of the provinces below Prome could effect this. The

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advantages derivable from this communication with China I leave to your consideration. The Chinese come in great numbers to Bummo, but no Burman is permitted to cross the Chinese frontier. I can see no reason why this Bummo should not ere long become an emporium for British merchandize, nor why this war should not result in the extension of our commerce with the Chinese Empire." That the Irrawaddy might be made the means of an extension of British commerce with China few will deny; from near Bummo, or Bhaumo—according to the map—an artery of the Great Artery even penetrates a portion of the Celestial Empire; a good deal of experimental navigation is necessary before arriving at any definite conclusions on an enterprise, the success of which might prove a useful blow to the exclusive propensities of a great nation, and might materially benefit mankind. Yet when we come to think of the Canton and Nankin rivers, there seems little chance of the Irrawaddy, in our day at least, materially extending our commerce with China.

Before the middle of September some 200 boats were nearly ready to assist in the transport to Prome. In every department activity reigned; and it must have been no small satisfaction to our gallant General, while these preparations for an advance were being carried on, to know that the health of the troops at Rangoon was highly satisfactory—forming, in this instance, a remarkable contrast with gloomy, deadly, destructive 1824. On the 13th, the

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Sphynx and *Moozuffer*, each with a transport, arrived with Brigadier-General Steel, C.B., Brigadier McNeil, and the whole of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, under Lieut.-Colonel Duke. The fame of this distinguished Corps is well known to the reader of Indian military history. It was in the year 1755 that the Madras Artillery and the 1st Madras European Regiment were first regularly incorporated. These two Corps may be said to have borne the brunt of the early (which is, in one sense, the principal) portion of the Conquest of our Indian Empire. In those days of Lawrence and Clive it was difficult indeed to make way against French intrigue and Native treachery; and when, in these particulars, vast progress had been made and numerous deeds of valour had been accomplished, we at length find the two Corps present in Bengal retrieving the fallen fortunes of that Presidency.* And now, about 100 years after Clive's defence of Arcot, they were serving, each for the second time, in Burmah, while fortune had favoured Bengal and allowed it to pride itself on nearly all the recent military glory of the East! The Fusiliers arrived with nearly 1,000 bayonets, and with about 40 Officers present, after, on account of incessant rain, an unpleasant voyage. This was unfortunate,

* "At this period (1756) the English and French forces on the Coromandel coast were nearly equal, each consisting of about 2,000 Europeans and 10,000 Natives." This included H. M.'s 39th Regiment, "Primis in Indis."—Begbie's *Services of the Madras Artillery*.

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as the Regiment had recently been afflicted with that dreadful scourge the Cholera on its march from Bellary to Madras, and cheerful weather might have been beneficial to the men. However, the Corps arrived in good condition, buoyed up with the hope of soon distinguishing itself on the field. On the 14th, H. M.'s ship *Winchester*, Captain Loch, arrived, also Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K.C.B., in the *Berenice*. The same day we received details of gunners, gun-lascars, and drivers for the Artillery; these were marched up in due order to the upper terrace. Europeans as well as natives, after leaving a transport, generally present "a sorry sight." This was particularly evident with the drivers and lascars. These natives, with their once white covers, over their grotesque pugaries, (turbands regimental,) looked bewilderment itself. They could not understand the extent or beauty of the place which we had added to our dominion in the East. Bells tinkling on the *golden tees* of the Pagodas, huge monsters of various shapes, and comely sphynxes, earnestly gazing on them as they passed along; all this would naturally make some impression on their Hindu minds. And then there was the quick step of the European soldier, as with the squad in a half-regimental state he marched off to his barracks, followed by his comrades who were already letting him into the silver secrets of Rangoon life! Here was a picture not entirely unworthy of observation. Wilkie alone could have painted it, and Dickens

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could have made an admirable sly sketch of it with his pen.

The detachment of Madras Artillery under orders for Prome consisted of the A Company, 4th Battalion, with the greater portion of the D, 2d Battalion. The former was under the command of Captain Mein; while Captain Cooke, of the latter Company, commanded the whole detachment, which was upwards of 100 strong.* Brigadier Foord, with his Brigade-Major, Captain Scott, were to accompany the Artillery to Prome. Before the 15th there were the *Sesostris*, *Fire Queen*, and *Enterprise* in the main stream, awaiting troops which were to be taken up to them by the light-draught steamers. The *Enterprise*, we believe, "stuck in the Panlang Creek going up, but she got off all right." †

From Assam it was rumoured that the Burmese were taking precautionary movements on the frontier, and that the passes to the ruby mines had been strongly fortified—"the Burmese having imagined, with the instinct of barbarians, that these would be the first objects of attack." The ruby mines of Upper Burmah would hardly have tempted us; but perhaps it would have been politic had we made a demonstration through Munnipore. Again, with reference to the coming advance on Prome, it was

* With the following Subalterns:—1st Lieutenants Hitchins and Robertson; 2d Lieutenants Bridge, Blair, and Lloyd. Assistant-Surgeon Smith was to accompany the Detachment.

† River Steamers for the Irrawaddy, see Appendix No. IV.

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remarked that "the march to Prome may be considered a guarantee for the annexation of Pegu." But if we neglect to capture the capital (Ava) we at once infuse new heart into the Burmese, and give them every encouragement to keep up a continual series of attacks on our new frontier, and likewise to annoy us through Munnipore.* Of course such a people as the higher Burmese will not allow us any peace "until we have humbled them in the dust, by occupying the palace of the dynasty." It would be useless to argue much on this point. If Ava be not reached during this war, their annoyance eventually must produce entire conquest. Destiny, it would appear, wills that we should go on in an increasing arithmetical progression; but the peaceful propensities of one-sided thinkers of the age demand moderation. Give it them. Let us assume the virtue if we have it not. But unfortunately for the very preservation of that peace on which they pride themselves, it is too often not a salutary virtue. Lord Dalhousie did all that statesman could do to avoid the present war; the Government were naturally averse to it, but circumstances forced it upon us; and if, before this humble Narrative is finished, the British flag shall wave over the walls of Ava, and the dynasty of Alompra be blotted out from the dynasties of the earth, we shall still have practised prudent moderation.

* *Friend of India*, September 23.

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On the 16th the Artillery entertained General Godwin and Staff at dinner. The warm politicians at home, on festive occasions, never looked forward with more eagerness for a declaration of what was to be done in a coming political campaign from the lips of a leading Minister in the House of Commons than did we on this social evening, while expecting some important information as to "coming events" from our gallant and distinguished guest, the Chief of the Army in Burmah.

Brigadier Foord proposed the health of General Godwin, whom he hoped to hail, ere a few months had passed away, as "Conqueror of Ava!" This toast, of course, was responded to with tremendous enthusiasm. The General rose. In the course of his speech, if we recollect aright, he said:—With regard to Ava, political as well as other reasons had urged the necessity of staying in position at Rangoon till the present time; what had been already effected had been perhaps slow, but he was certain that it was sure. He hoped before six months were over to have the grand object of the expedition fully carried out. Without going to Ava no successful ultimatum could be accomplished, so as to produce "a lasting peace." The speech was well received. After a short time, the gallant General, in a complimentary manner, proposed "the Artillery!"

The Admiral had hoisted his flag on board the *Pluto* steamer, and had set off in advance, as if to explore the Irrawaddy. Why the gallant veteran

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took this step at such a time, when every steamer was necessary for the transport of troops, it was not very easy to conjecture.

It was now said, and we think with some justice, that the river steamers had been the means of keeping off projected attacks from various quarters on Rangoon. These were nearly all expected from the vicinity of this stronghold; it was not therefore, as some affirmed, because the attention of the enemy was fixed on the "distant point" of Prome that they were prevented from attempting to disturb our principal position. Every credit, however, was given to the activity of the "steam flotilla," but little to the vigilance of the troops in garrison. In the opinion of not a few, an anomaly had now become the most splendid feature of the expedition; for an anomaly we must style Captain Tarleton's gallant affair of Prome.* His "flotilla" was said simply to have gone to survey the river, to ascertain the position and proceedings of the enemy; in short, merely to "feel the way," just to see what fortifications the

* Before this anomalous feat turned the heads of sensible men, the *Friend of India*, for instance, wrote thus:—"Our occupation of the Delta for four or five months will serve to consolidate the opposition which we have created among its inhabitants to the Burmese Court." And again, that we had already "deprived the Court of Ava of the resources of the maritime provinces, and weakened its power in no ordinary degree."—*Friend of India*, July 1. These cautious remarks were the result of time and inquiry. But immediately the navy began, *Friend*, *Times*, &c., conquered the country at once!

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Burmese were erecting on the banks of the river, "to get the depth of water, and to ascertain the disposition of the people towards us higher up." It is useless to repeat that he did more than all this; the consequence, good or bad, may hereafter appear.

On the 16th a portion of H. M.'s 80th embarked in some of the small steamers to be transported to the larger ones in the Irrawaddy. On the 18th another detachment left Rangoon in the *Proserpine*. A large portion of the 35th M. N. I. had started in boats. On the morning of the 19th 120 men of H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish embarked on board the *Medusa*. About the same time the *Rattler* arrived from Moulmein with a detachment of the 80th, and "some convalescent officers." On the 21st another portion of the 18th R. I. started in the *Phlegethon*. The arrangements for the embarkation of the troops were declared to be admirable, reflecting the highest credit on the Quartermaster-General's department; also, according to an intelligent writer,* on the indefatigable Captain Tarleton, "always there, seeing that the blue-jackets did their work properly in assisting the troops and their baggage on board the steamers."

The following remark conveys a very general opinion which was current at Rangoon while the embarkation of troops was going on, and many saw

* Correspondent of the *Englishman*, October 2.

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in the "mind's eye" some great event "looming" in the future:—"The word *annexation* has only to be sounded, when the Peguers (and many Burmese resident among them) throughout the length and breadth of the land will rise as one man, and expel the Burmese soldiery and dacoits, and give peace and liberty to the oppressed ryots."

Wild flowers are numerous in Burmah in September. For the sake of botanists we may remark the great beauty of the creeping fern during this month, of which plant there is a great variety at Rangoon. The *Maidenhair*, according to Mason, a beautiful fern, is seen in the crevices of old ruins and walls. A very rainy day, succeeded by a dry and very warm one, may give an idea of the nature of the weather, which seemed highly favourable to an extraordinary rapidity of vegetation.

Through the astonishing energy of Major Fraser, the Grand Architect of Rangoon, and the labours of his Assistants, ample shelter had been afforded to the troops even while the reinforcements were gradually pouring in; and now, as the city emptied itself of a portion of its defenders, there were almost palaces for some, and houses for all, until another stream of life came in to stop the gap, as it were, among a social throng. On the 22d many light guns were brought up from the Artillery Park, and arranged round the north and west of the Great Pagoda. This cautious measure was taken in case of dacoits, many of whom were now prowling about,

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and enticing the inhabitants away from Rangoon. An attack of some kind certainly was expected, and it is a fact that hundreds of Burmese had left the town within the last few days. Probably these fugitives, knowing not yet which side to take, thought it safer, in case of the eventual success of the Golden Foot, not to be found under British protection. These unwise ones little reckoned on the extent of British power, if such thoughts really entered their minds.

On the morning of the 24th the last detachment of H. M.'s 80th, also the head-quarters of the 35th M. N. I., with Sir John Cheape and Staff, embarked in the *Phlegethon*. On the same day the *Havering* transport, with the head-quarters of the 5th Battalion Bengal Artillery and half of No. 3 Light Field Battery, arrived at Rangoon. Upwards of 20 horses died during the voyage from Calcutta, which we believe occupied about 20 days. These casualties would probably not have occurred had a steamer for towing been available; for every one knows that where heat and impure air abound time is of the greatest consequence. The C Troop, Madras Horse Artillery, out of a greater number of horses, lost 14, and at least some of these might have escaped had the transports been towed across the whole way by steamers. The vessel with the best ventilation, in this instance, lost the fewest horses. But who does not know that on a voyage ventilation is the life and soul of comfort to man as well as beast?

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On the 25th, the P. and O. Company's steamer *Oriental* arrived with the 5th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry,* from Kyouk Phyoo. The *Oriental* at Rangoon gave food for many notes, let us be content with one. This splendid ship had, at the commencement of its career, carried poor Warburton, of "The Crescent and the Cross;" a graphic pen like his might have had an excellent field for display in the dominions of the Golden Foot! Also, the author of "Eöthen,"—how his warm imagination would light up the incidents of travel in the region of Gaudama, where so many forms of that wonderful type of divinity appear, apparently gazing on with not less "earnest eyes" than those of his favourite "very Sphynx!"

An attack on the village of Puzendown being expected, the surveying brig *Krishna* was sent round to the Creek. A party of marines and seamen from the *Winchester* formed the force—sufficient to ensure the security of the place. The object of the Burmese was to carry off the Ex-Governor of Pegu. Burmese vengeance seemed now to be hovering around the hated name! Pegu under British protection would certainly be a death-blow to Burmese tyranny and oppression! Pegu would be rescued, adding one triumph more to the many now enjoyed by our Government in the cause of "the wronged and helpless!"

On the 25th also, General Godwin and Staff, with Brigadier Foord and the Artillery, embarked on

* Under the Command of Colonel Poole.

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board the *Proserpine*. On arrival at Yunguinchain-yah, at the head of the Panlang Creek, the General was to go on board the *Fire Queen*, and proceed in her to Prome. Sir Archibald Campbell, some 28 years before, and some months later, had left Rangoon to take the lead against "the Barbarians," amidst the roar of cannon;—on the present occasion no salute announced our gallant General's departure. On the 26th, the *Medusa* left for Prome, with Major Fraser and his Engineers, Captain Rundall with his Sappers and Miners, also Superintending-Surgeon Montgomerie. On the 27th, Brigadier Reignolds and head-quarters of the Bengal Brigade proceeded in the *Nemesis*. And now the whole of the First Division had gone from Rangoòn, and Brigadier-General Steel was left in command.

It was General Godwin's intention simply to land and occupy Prome,—he would act on the defensive until the arrival of a Second Division; he would then be able to overcome every obstacle, and go wherever the orders of the Governor-General might carry him—to Ava, or even to Pekin! It was not in the General's power to answer the annexation question—he was acting, like any one of us, under orders. By the time of his second visit to Prome, the question, and how much? would probably be decided on by a higher power. Meanwhile there might be work to do in the southern portion of the Delta of the Irrawaddy. The General was well aware that before advancing with

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a force on Ava, or even being able fairly to secure the province of Pegu, it would be necessary to clear the country up the Sitang river—say by taking a land-column from Martaban to Sitang, thence to Shoé-Gyne, thence to the reputed strong-post of Tonghoo, and next, perhaps, across the country to Prome. It might be politic to cause such a step succeed the re-capture of Pegu, the ancient kingdom's capital.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE ADVANCE ON PROME—DOINGS AT RANGOON.

FEW events in Indian military history have given rise to so many remarks, grave, gay, lively, and severe, as General Godwin's advance on, and capture of Prome. Some of the Indian journals almost exhausted their wit on the subject. That five octavo pages of a *Gazette* should have been occupied in detailing an engagement in which only one man was killed and a few wounded, was, in the opinion of one of them, quite dissimilar to the "*Veni, Vidi, Vici*," of the great Cæsar. And again, the same clever writer held that Nelson's idea of having one day a *Gazette* "all to himself," was not "associated with such cheap results as the capture of Prome by the Army of Burmah." It does certainly provoke a smile, while reading the graphic Narratives by the Commodore and General, as set forth in the Despatches,* pondering over the naval and military exploits, and the grand result. But we are a strange

* Appendix, No. V.

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people in this respect. Had there been in human life a large bill of costs, there would have been more praise and less wit bestowed on the operations; so, however brilliant the wit may be on such occasions, the expression of it certainly does not say much in favour of British humanity. Looking at this failing in a purely professional point of view, it appears absurd in the extreme; since every one knows that it is the consummate art of war to do as much as possible with quickness, decision, and effect, at a small cost of life among the troops employed. Writing a few pages about doing the thing does not then become such a great crime after all; and no doubt the General as well as the Commodore have for some time been perfectly satisfied on this point.

Not having had the honour of accompanying the Advance, and there being no necessity for repeating the detailed information in the Despatches, it must suffice to give the following brief Narrative from a letter received about the middle of October from one of that learned and indefatigable class of men, without whom that modern Archimedes—the Press—would be at a dead stand-still, "Our Own Correspondent!"

Prome, Tuesday, 12*th October* 1852.

"I have just sufficient time to give a detail of events as they occurred since leaving Rangoon. The voyage was marked by a few interruptions in our progress towards Prome. In the first place, the *Fire Queen* and *Enterprise* steamers grounded,

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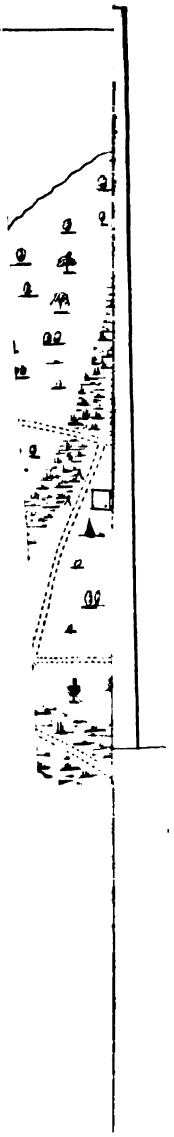

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thereby causing a detention of all the other steamers for three days. Again, there was the very melancholy event of the Admiral's death, at the Island of "Shouk Shay Khune."* It appears he had been taken ill on the night of the 5th; the following day he became worse; and he died on the afternoon of the 7th on board the *Pluto*, which left for Rangoon on the morning of the 8th. From this island, which is not more than ten miles from Prome, we weighed and started, in all eight steamers, at daybreak on the morning of the 9th. In two hours we were under the hill fortifications of Prome, which have a full command of the river. Fortunately only one shot was fired from the hill, on the second steamer sailing abreast of it. A few rounds of shell from the steamers soon silenced the enemy for a time; but on our advancing a short distance higher up the river, they fired on almost every steamer that passed, and annoyed us very much with jingals and musketry. The two steamers in advance returned the firing with great precision and effect; in short, all the steamers had a share in replying to the ineffectual firing of the Burmese. During the greater part of the day the steamers were alternately bombarding, for the purpose of landing the troops. In the afternoon, at 5 P. M. (rather late to

* Also written "Shouk Shay Khenee." On the 23d of September the *Pluto* had arrived here with Admiral and Staff, and a Company of the 35th M. N. I., under Captain Taylor, with Ensigns Scottee and Beghie.

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commence operations inland,) H. M's. 80th, the Sappers and Miners, and the Artillery landed, taking only two guns with us. Getting our guns ready took up a considerable time; so that while evening was closing upon us we had made but little progress. At length we were all busy in securing a resting position for the night. The 80th lost but one man, who was shot, and three were wounded that same evening. The following morning, with the 18th R.I., and the 35th M.N.I., we proceeded to the Pagoda, where we expected a sharp contest; but on our arrival at the steps we found the Burmese had fled, so we quickly ascended and took possession of the citadel. It is a similar one to the Shoé Dagoung, but apparently of recent finish. The Artillery are located in the north steps, far superior to those of Rangoon. Since our occupation of Prome we have had no fighting; but now and then we hear a few stray shots between our skirmishers and the Burmese. On the night of the 9th, one of the 80th soldiers, whilst at his post as sentry, between the hours of one and two, was attacked by a few Burmese, who cut off his head and left his body some distance from his post. The remains were not found until the relief went round. This happened actually within 150 yards of where our guns were placed, at the north gate; and two of our sentries were walking about at the time. It appears at this juncture, a few shots having been fired on the guard from another direction, the atten-

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tion of the men was diverted, giving the Burmese ample time to accomplish their ends. They also carried away the sentry's musket and belts. Since this atrocious murder was committed double sentries have been planted. Just as I am writing, the bugle sounds for the "Assembly" of the 18th Royal Irish, one of their picquets having been attacked a little way out by a body of Burmese.

The country seems to have been entirely deserted for some time, judging from the total absence of food of any sort being found; not even a grain of rice; and also from the overgrown state of vegetation. Even the roads and paths are all green and covered with long grass. No accidents have occurred to any of our men; nor has there been any sickness, save a few trifling cases, since leaving Rangoon. The hospital, an old Poonghee house, is situated within a few yards of the steps, and is very convenient. The General and Staff, I believe, return to Rangoon this evening on board the *Proserpine*. Brigadier Foord, and his Brigade-Major Captain Scott, also go. We are to await the arrival of the Second Division; until then, nothing further is to be done." *

Intelligence of Admiral Austen's death reached Rangoon as early as the 8th of October. It is needless to say that it was received by the Naval and

* By a warrant officer serving with the Madras Artillery in Burmah, who enclosed the above intelligence in a respectful letter to the Senior Surgeon, then at Rangoon.

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Military there with a feeling of sorrow. The gallant Admiral had been "changed into clay;" but then he had died in harness, while serving his country, with his flag flying! Thus it was neatly remarked, "it is the pride of British sailors and soldiers to die; and his memory will be honourably associated in history with the Second Burmese War."

The *Pluto*, while reconnoitring off Prome, had been fired upon by "two guns well mounted on the crest of a hill, a few jingals, and several hundred muskets." Then, in the town itself, there were supposed not to be more than 500 Burmese troops, but numbers were said to be strongly posted a few miles distant inland, at Euthāy-Mew. Major Brett had accompanied the Naval Commander-in-Chief to Prome.

Just before the melancholy news of the Admiral's death arrived, the Artillery mess at Rangoon had the pleasure of entertaining the Purser of one of Her Majesty's Men-of-War—a fine old tar of the genuine old school, which is fast passing away, to make room, it is to be hoped, for a better. That very day he had completed 41 years in the Royal Navy. The Service was now as much changed, he said, from what it was on his entering it, as if it were altogether a Foreign Service. He was very severe on the "young gentlemen." The young gentlemen were too fine now-a-days. In his time a tumbler between three or four, or a tin pot, or a bottle

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wanting the neck, sufficed for a mess; but now each must have his cut glass, and he did not know what else besides. He was a promoter of "progress;" but, shaking his head as he pronounced the word, he could not help adhering to his opinion that the young gentlemen were too precocious now-a-days. The Yankees were evidently no favourites with him; and he considered their expedition against Japan as "sheer humbug." Altogether, there was the dry humour of the true British Sailor about him which it will not be easy to forget. At this time also, as if by way of variety, the *Moozuffer* and *Feroze* arrived from Calcutta with the greater portion of the Bengal Fusiliers. On the 9th, the *Sphynx* came into port with the remainder. This distinguished corps had come from Meerut, and was under the command of Colonel Tudor.

On the 12th of October the *Pluto* left for Bassein with the body of the Admiral, for whom minute-guns were fired the same day. * The *Pluto* was to relieve the *Rattler*, which was ordered to proceed

* "His Excellency had an attack of *Cholera* in the month of April (1852), at Rangoon; and although on proceeding to Calcutta he recovered from this, yet he was unable to regain sufficient strength to render a speedy return to the enervating climate of the Rangoon river advisable. On the belief however that his duty called him there, he went again in September, in the hope of assisting in the capture of Prome."....."His kind and affable manner, his affectionate disposition, and his urbanity and affability to those under his command," endeared Charles John Austen to all who knew him. He was in his 74th year.

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with the remains of the late Naval Commander-in-Chief to Trincomallee. Her Majesty's screw steamer *Rattler* having been despatched at such a time with the remains of the Admiral to his family, afterwards drew forth the wrath of the "*Thunderer*" in an astonishing degree. When every steamer was of importance to us no one will attempt to defend the act of sending one away at such a crisis. The *Times*, with far less justice, was also furious in the same article; because Clive had done this, and Sir Arthur Wellesley or Sir Charles Napier that, or because General Stuart with 3,000 men had won the battle of Maida against 7,000 French, General Godwin did not "venture to attack 6,000 Burmese" until he was reinforced. The General had reason to believe there were many more at Euthāy-Mew. As to his not "venturing" to attack, attacking indiscreetly has been the generally condemned fault of late battles in another quarter: Why should such a charge have been brought against a man of such reputed personal courage as our Commander? It may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that the General would have been in his glory while leading personally *one* favourite European Regiment against the flower of the Burmese Army; but martial ardour must sometimes be restrained by policy. In the present instance the policy was to allow the enemy to concentrate themselves. We will not argue whether this was the best policy under the circumstances; but the General, if he

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erred at all, erred on the side of caution; and for this came a torrent of clever abuse from the leading journal of Europe, which wound up by *asserting* with, to say the least of it, questionable taste, "how much better would the *Rattler* have been employed in bearing our victorious troops to the storm of Ava, than in carrying a lifeless corpse over a 1000 miles of ocean!"

This reads admirably well; but we are tolerably sure that the *Rattler* does not come under the head of "light vessels," which might with safety reach Ava. Of course she should not have been sent away for all that. Numerous light river steamers were required. The screw revolving with terrific power every now and then to force the gallant ship through a shoal or some other difficulty, would not have improved the tempers of the hungry but "victorious troops" about to proceed to the "storm of Ava!" Captain Lindguist, late of the Bengal Pilot Service, who commanded the *Diana* steamer in the last Burmese war, and who took Mr Crawford to Ava,* we believe found that between two and three feet, or say three feet of water, was the *maximum* a vessel should draw proceeding on such an enterprize.

Three most useful river steamers had now arrived at Rangoon, the *Lord William Bentinck*, the *Nerbudda*, and *Damooda*. The former had been sent on the 5th to Pegu, "to see what the Burmese

* In the winter season.

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were about up there;" she left well provided with ammunition.

On the 6th the head-quarters and a detachment of Bengal Artillery, with about 40 horses and numerous bullocks, and two light field-pieces, under Major Turton, embarked on board the steamers *Nerbudda* and *Damooda* for Prome. The Subaltern Officers who accompanied the Light Field Battery were Lieutenants Willoughby, Dobbin, Ashe, and Lewes.

Some high Burman chief, who had been under the zealous and indefatigable Captain Latter's safe keeping, was now released, leaving, it was said, "his two sons as hostages." It was likewise asserted, with what degree of truth it is impossible to say, that the King of Ava had promised the Peguese that if they will "join in opposing and harassing us, and finally succeed in expelling us from the country, they shall have a Prince of their own to rule over them, and be again an independent nation!" But these people seemed rather inclined to say—"We *shall* have the British to rule over us!" As may be well imagined the Commissariat establishments had now sufficient work on their hands. It was pleasant enough to hear, at a time when poor Madras was considered to be sadly in the back-ground, some experienced Bengal Officers declaring, there can be little doubt with perfect truth, that in two important items we did excel the Bengallies—in the Commissariat and in the Medical Subordinates. However, in the

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former Department, Major Budd, Captain Simpson,* and their Officers, were wisely too much occupied with the service of the State to think of rivalry, and there can be no doubt that in the face of many difficulties they did their work nobly in the Second Burmese War. On the 14th, a Company of Golundauze, under Captain Money, was added to the Artillery.† On the 16th of October the General, Staff, and Commodore, reached Rangoon from Prome. Brigadier Foord, Captains Scott and Robertson, and Dr M'Cosh, also arrived. And now we began to glean some fresh intelligence about Prome, the city which had fallen with so little loss to our troops. The scenery on the Irrawaddy is for the most part flat and uninteresting. No palm-trees, no banyans, to be seen; but plantain trees, numerous on the banks, with abundance of brush-wood. It may here be remarked that the plantain fruit is as commonly used in Burmah as the potatoe in England. Near the Panlang Creek the river is so narrow that two steamers can hardly pass abreast. On nearing Prome the scenery improves, becoming picturesque, and not unlike the Rhine. At the city itself the river is more than a mile broad. Yenbenzeik, a pretty village, with richly-wooded hills, crested with pagodas, presents a beautiful distant view. Prome was described to us as boasting its few artificial as well as natural

* Chief of the Bengal Commissariat.

† On Friday the 15th landed from the *Berenice* the 5th Company of the 9th Battalion Bengal Artillery.

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beauties, the wood-carving there especially being very fine. The Golden Pagoda likewise commanded its share of admiration. As at Rangoon, the Burmese had removed the old town from the beach, or rather from the bank of the river. Regarding the before-mentioned act of cutting off the poor European sentry's head, General Godwin had written to Bundoola, through Captain Smith, the Burmese Interpreter, protesting against the barbarous murder, and reminding the Chief that on a treaty being concluded the act would be one of the first for which he should be called on to give an account. Although we imagine Bundoola had very little to say to the business, yet we believe that the General's excellent letter, which also remarked on the way in which we treated our prisoners, was not without a salutary effect. The four steamers* which had come down with the General and Commodore made the passage in forty-eight hours; they were just thirteen days in going up, including the time lost by the *Fire Queen* having stuck in her progress through the Irrawaddy. The *Sesostris* now acted as a sort of troop and guard-ship off Prome. The once noble war-steamer had of course been lightened considerably previous to her voyage up the river. Portions of the Second Division, including H. M.'s 51st, were now ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Prome at a moment's notice. Rangoon became once more a scene of bustle and preparation. By the 22d of October

* The *Proserpine*, *Phlegethon*, *Mahanuddy*, and *Fire Queen*.

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the intelligence was generally spread that the King of Ava had sent down for Bundoola to come into the Royal presence. He was ordered to appear before the Golden Foot in the dress of a woman, having disgraced himself by losing his army in July. Bundoola would not go, as he feared the King, or perhaps the loss of his head more. The wily chief therefore thought it wise to leave his stockade at or near Euthāy-Mew, and come over to the English. He did so—delivered himself up to Sir John Cheape, and is now a prisoner on board the *Sesostris*. The following is from the letter of an Artillery Officer at Prome.—"Of course you have heard that the great Bundoola's son has given himself up to us to save his head; he has been out of power since his failure at Akouk-toung, where he lost his guns. There is an army of some 3000 or 4000 men at Euthāy-Mew, about six miles from this, commanded, it is supposed, by the late Governor of Rangoon, but they have not given us a sight of them yet. An old fellow, with a few men on the opposite bank of the river, amuses himself by firing a few shots at us daily; it is needless to say they are harmless at such a range. But yet the practice evinces a strong determination. He is said to be a great man from Ava, the Governor of the Palace Yard, or some such title. We hear he flatters himself that he has stopped the steamers from proceeding to Ava, and has written to the King to that effect!" It was now expected that an expedition to Pegu would start shortly.

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On the 25th the Burmese had a grand ceremony on the upper terrace of the Great Rangoon Pagoda, which consisted in putting up an immense orange-coloured cloth round the bell end of the vast exterior of Gaudama's Temple. They likewise put one up round the smaller Pagoda near it. These cloths are sometimes sent by people to the Poonghees from distant parts, as substitutes for attending the sacred feasts and meetings at Rangoon, where it is considered all such assemblies are of vast importance.

On the following day there was another grand Gaudamaic display, that of placing the drooping muslin pipe* encircled by orange-wreaths, in the foliage of the beautiful banyan tree, in which it appeared to be blown about so gently as if simply intending to woo the air. To others must be left the pleasant task of informing the public on this ceremony, which, on the present occasion, was carried on during the striking of gongs and the clamour of a vast mixed Burmese assembly.† The Pagoda at Prome, they say, is dedicated to the Hare; by no means an unimportant dedication in the religion of Gaudama. A few remarks were given on this wonderful belief—Guadama—in the first volume; it may not interrupt in any very serious manner the chain of this Narrative if we here remark, to satisfy the curiosity of

* Some of the Burmese style this Tan-hgun. *Tan-hgun Deing*, according to Chase, means "Flag-post."

† After twelve or fifteen days the cloths and ornaments are removed from the temples, trees, and sacred posts.

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those interested, that Gaudama—the fourth or last Buddha—is supposed to have been a hare in one of his previous transmigrations. A hare in Burmese is *yon*. Yong-meng signifies the Hare-Governor—that is in a measure among the Burmese the present ruler of the Universe. There are said to have been 28 Buddhas originally in all; 23 have appeared in different successive worlds previous to the present world; of the remaining five four have appeared, the fifth, as said before, is yet to come. The inferior Celestial regions are said to be inhabited by the Nats or Fairies. At Rangoon, if we recollect right, Mr Kincaid said there were about 16 hells in the Buddhist religion; but the number varied. During a journey to Ava he had seen some very curious infernal resemblances engraved on palm leaves. Time would not permit our waiting to hear the learned lecturer enter fully into his interesting subject, so we merely glean the following information,—that the four states of suffering or punishment in general use are hell—transmigration into insects, reptiles, and fish—transmigration into animals—and the abode of the fallen Nats under the Mayenmo hill. Then, again, the worshippers of Gaudama entertain the hope of being numbered among those who by some miraculous change have become "raised above the common destinies, passions, and infirmities of human nature." The Pali word *nic-ban*, was alluded to in the first volume, meaning annihilation, or emancipation from all evil. By some it is believed to be a state of total

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annihilation, by others a state of perfect tranquillity and abstraction, like the quiet visage and demeanour of the wooden or alabaster Gaudama. And now, after all this mixture of sublimity and absurdity, many Burmese think that the greatest glory of the present Phya (god), the fourth Gaudama, on the appearance of the last or maistree (chief) Buddha incarnate, will be again to breathe in and assume the form of a hare! Perhaps in these wild beliefs it is not too much to trace the origin of such a remark as that put by our immortal Shakspere into the mouth of Ophelia:—"They say the Owl was a baker's daughter, we know what we are, but, know not what we may be."

The river steamers with any intelligence from Prome were always welcome to the *quid nunc* sojourners at Rangoon. At this time we learned that there had been several cases of Cholera in the monastery at Prome, where the 80th had taken up their abode. A detachment of H. M.'s 51st had already left; the remainder was now in orders to proceed on Wednesday the 27th. A portion of the 40th B. N. I. had embarked for Prome; and another portion of Major Reid's Horse Battery, under Lieutenants Anderson and Fraser, was about to leave Rangoon for that important scene of rendezvous.

On the 26th of October the 10th B. N. I., of the 2d Bengal Brigade, arrived. The admirable state of discipline which, at the critical time of about to cross the *Kala Panee*—literally the dark water—dis-

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tinguished this fine Corps, was a subject of eulogium throughout Bengal. It was said that emissaries from certain malcontent Corps in that Presidency had been trying to dissuade the 10th from crossing the water; but like good soldiers they were true to the last to their Honourable and liberal masters; and the Regiment arrived, after roughing it a little, in splendid condition at Rangoon. Colonel Dickenson, who had been appointed to command the 2d Bengal Brigade, might well be proud of his Corps, which now fell under the command of Major Welchman. No doubt the 10th* wondered at the idea of, for one moment, a soldier not going where he was ordered. The chief fault, however, as before remarked in the case of the Native Corps, did not lie with the Bengal sepoy but in the Bengal system. We certainly have ordered these matters better in Madras; and there can be no question but that the Bengal sepoys should be enlisted to go any where and do any thing according to the call of duty.

On the 27th it was announced that a Chief recently captured was the adopted son of the late Rangoon Governor. He said that his father would come in; but having fired upon our flag of truce he was afraid to do so. A female, described as the wife of the adopted, likewise appeared as a warlike *Rosalind* in man's clothes. Gathering information from the Prome party was now not an unimportant occupa-

* Not a General Service Corps.

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tion among the doings at Rangoon. We were not surprised to hear from one or more quarters that the General was annoyed at not having had a decisive action at Prome. It was natural also that he should have been irritated by the Navy during its previous progress on the river, having, after procuring wood and provisions, left the friendly villagers to the mercy of the Burmese soldiery. The Naval Officers present on these occasions of course were not to blame; they simply obeyed orders, but they never should have been there. Immediately after Captain Tarleton's operations on the Irrawaddy, which few will now look upon in their originally intended light, that of a surveying expedition, the Naval force under Captain Shadwell finding, as it must have done, that it could only afford very inadequate protection to the friendly population in the important towns and villages on the river's banks should have been withdrawn. Its presence only held out false hopes of protection to people who might have sought refuge elsewhere.* Some may therefore insist on the fact that the unsupported presence—there is no necessity to say advance—of the steam flotilla on the Irrawaddy was the cause of much misery to the friendly people of the country. It doubled Burmese vengeance against our allies. Had there been none

* The indefatigable exertions of Captain Shadwell, R. N., and of Major Brett, in defending Shouk Shay Khenee, with Her Majesty's allies, against numbers of *Burmese*, are worthy of the highest praise.

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of this Naval meandering before the regular advance of the army in the steamers, the General might have found a determined and powerful enemy to resist his occupying a position at Prome. A blow might then have been struck at the ancient city itself which might have annihilated the Burmese army, and at once have forced the Golden Foot to any terms we might have chosen to dictate. Numbers of course will dissent from these opinions; it is utterly impossible to argue on such a subject with satisfaction to all parties; but there is one thing certain, that all concerned were interested in serving the State faithfully and well!

We shall reserve any further remarks on the general conduct of the war for a separate and final Chapter.

On the 30th of October the report of an attack by the Burmese on Henzadah reached Rangoon. It was simply a "brush" with the enemy at that important position, beside the junction of the Bassein river with the Irrawaddy. Captain A. Becher, of the 40th B. N. I., with only one Company of his Regiment, highly distinguished himself on this occasion by his promptitude and gallantry in repelling the Burmese, for which he received the thanks of General Godwin.

By the end of the month nearly the whole of H. M.'s 51st and the 40th B. N. I. had embarked for Prome. On the arrival of the 9th M. N. I., either there or at minor posts on the river, the whole of

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the 2d Division would have left Rangoon. On the 29th H. M.'s Ship *Hastings* had left for Madras, homeward bound.

On the 1st of November a terrific explosion took place, which few will forget during their lives if they were at the time on the upper terrace of the Great Dagoung Pagoda,—the discharge of heavy artillery, the rattling peals of thunder, will not describe it. It was like some demon inside the earth growling for a considerable length of time with a terrible power, certainly not of this world; the noise wound up by the fury of Jupiter in full play, hurling about the bolts which Vulcan is reputed to have forged for Jove! It turned out to be the explosion of a small magazine near the theatre, to the southward, where there were many boxes and barrels of ammunition and some powder. The explosion set fire to the temple of Thalia, which soon appeared in one huge and dangerous blaze.* The large magazine on the west was immediately occupied by men with buckets. Through the exertions of the troops this important building was saved; if it had not been, few of us would have been left alive to tell the tale. The casualties amounted to three Burmese and two or three of the native lascars killed and wounded. Pieces of wood, fiery gun-wads, and musket balls,†

* This pleasant place of amusement, with all its excellent scenery, was entirely destroyed.

† Some of these actually came through the thatch of the author's house, though some hundred yards away from, and about forty feet above the magazine.

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were sent into the air with terrific force; and an Artillery European Gunner, who was sentry over the upper magazine at the time, was lifted some feet off the ground! A committee of three Field Officers assembled at the Artillery Mess-house to enquire into the cause of the explosion, and to report on the extent of damage done; and the impression at length became general that it was accidental.

Akouk-toung,* it was now said, had been occupied by the Burmese with two guns. On the 8th of November five dacoits were caught by the *Thoogyee* (Judge) of Dalla. One of them was described to be the leader of 500 men of the King's army; the titles given him by Royalty were engraved on palm leaves; these were carried by his servant.

On the 11th a Company of the 9th M. N. I., and one from the Bengal Fusiliers were sent to Puzendown and Dalla, respectively, as a guard to the friendly inhabitants in these near positions to Rangoon. Attacks by the Burmese had rendered such measures necessary.

On the 12th the melancholy news reached us of the death of Britain's greatest warrior—Wellington! The *Times* was magnificent in its eulogium on the departed hero who had "EXHAUSTED NATURE AND EXHAUSTED GLORY." But indeed all the leading journals seemed to vie with each other in doing

* On the right bank of the river, some fifteen miles below Prome.

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honour to his memory in immortal language. We do not believe that on any previous occasion so much graphic, elegant, and impressive writing had been poured forth by the Press.

The 4th Regiment of Local Sikh Infantry arrived on the 12th at Rangoon. Major Armstrong's Corps was regarded as quite a curiosity in Calcutta, and its appearance here was considered to be an event of no ordinary importance.* The Ramghur Cavalry also arrived. On the 15th news reached us from Prome that a force had proceeded to Akouk-toung, and had captured four guns. Another had landed at the Stockade, occupied by the indefatigable Chieftain, opposite Prome. The enemy were completely surprised by the tars and troops. Landing at different places, the gallant sailors and marines drove the Burmese into the hands of our soldiers, who made quick work of a large number of them, with little loss on our side. Upwards of 90 Burmese were said to be killed.

* The *Englishman* gave us the following analysis of the men composing the 4th Sikh Infantry :—

"Sikhs,.....500
Affghans,.....150
Punjabees,.....100
Goorkhas and Hindoostanis,.....150——900."

The Governor-General, it was said, had paid the Sikhs the high compliment of visiting them ; and the Regiment had been furnished with percussion arms, which, at Rangoon, with the British bayonet, they seemed to carry with as much pride as the British soldier.

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News of a sad nature from Prome informed us of the death of Captain Rundall of the Madras Engineers, Commanding the Corps of Madras Sappers and Miners in Burmah. This excellent Officer had served with distinction in the Chinese war. His gallantry on the field in Burmah was touched on in the previous volume of this Narrative. He was a zealous soldier, of high talent, and of the most exemplary character; and he died in the prime of life beloved and regretted by all. In him another had been added to the list of worthy men who had fallen by a stronger hand than that of the enemy.*

* In consequence of this Chapter having already exceeded the intended limits, for further intelligence regarding Prome the reader is referred to Extracts from Officers' Letters, Appendix, No. VI.

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CHAPTER VII.

CAPTURE AND OCCUPATION OF PEGU.

It may be recollected by the reader of the former portion of this Narrative, that early in June 1852 a force of between 200 and 300 men, under Major Cotton of the Bengal Infantry—including 100 of H. M.'s 80th, under Captain Ormsby—left Rangoon to attack the City of Pegu. The troops did their work in what may be called dashing style, while exposed to the fierce rays of a burning sun. The enemy were driven out, but did not suffer any very great loss. It was then much to be regretted that General Godwin could not afford troops for the permanent occupation of Pegu. The real capture and occupation was now to come.

By the middle of November four river steamers were under orders for Pegu, to convey a force consisting of 300 of the Bengal Fusiliers, 300 of the Madras Fusiliers, 400 of the 5th M. N. I., with small detachments of Artillery and Sappers, and two guns. Brigadier M'Neill of the 2d Madras

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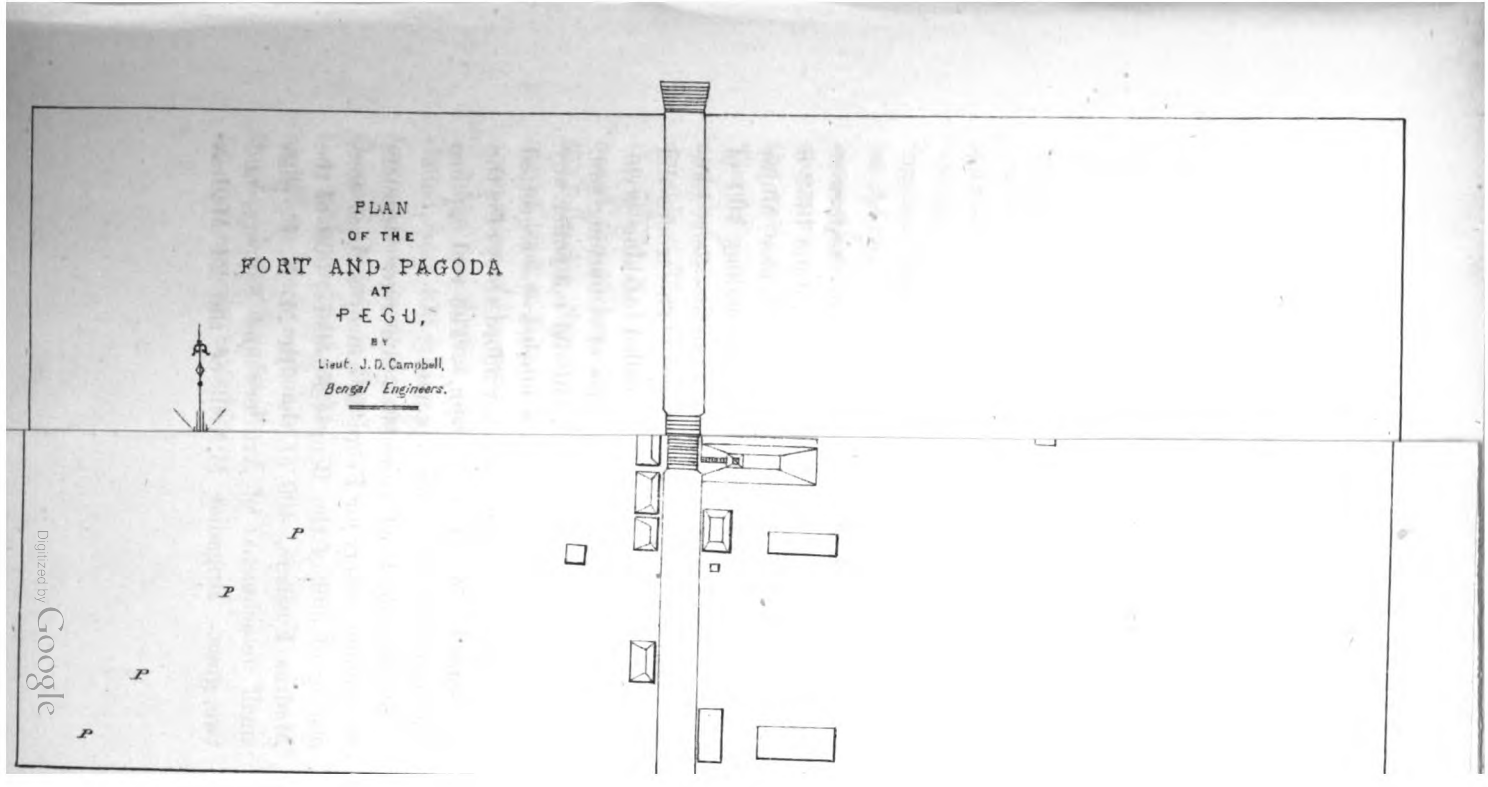

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Brigade was appointed to command. The Bengal Fusiliers were under Colonel Tudor, the Madras under Major Hill, the 5th Companies under Major Shubrick, and the Artillery under Captain Malloch of the Bengal arm. The Sappers were under Lieuts. Shortland and Harris. General Godwin was to accompany the force, when it was to be expected with his accustomed energy he would superintend operations. The troops embarked on Friday morning, the 19th of November, at day-break, and anchored the next day at sunset, a little below Pegu. In consequence of the shallowness of the river the steamers were not engaged. The force landed on the morning of Sunday the 21st, amidst a dense fog. The fatigue endured by the troops was very great, and the casualties in this gallant affair were considerable. The Grenadiers and Rifle Companies of the 5th M. N. I., under Captain Wyndham, were on board the *Mahanuddy*. Not having been present, the following Narrative may be selected as containing at least a faithful account of the capture and occupation of Pegu :—

"My detachment (5th M. N. I.), all ranks included, was 400 strong; 280 were with me in the foremost steamer, the *Bentinck*, the remainder with General Godwin in the *Mahanuddy*. At noon, on the 19th, we first sighted armed Burmese; that night we were aground about seven miles below Pegu. I was requested to furnish strong picquets on the eastern bank for the protection of the

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steamers. Captains Watts and Nicholls were sent with their Companies. I visited all the sentries, who were in a jungle so dense they could not be seen at a distance of 20 yards one from the other. On the afternoon of this day I had accompanied Captains Lambert and Seymour, R.N., who attended the Expedition—the former in charge of all the gunboats, the latter as an "amateur"—and Captain Digny of the *Bentinck*, in an armed cutter up the river, which we found staked, but of sufficient depth. We rowed till shouting from a vast multitude, about 150 yards ahead of us told us we were discovered. The town proved to be Pegu, and the people its inhabitants. I conclude those armed among them were not there, but at their respective posts awaiting the arrival of our force, of which the smoke of the steamers and the guns we had been compelled to fire had given them notice, for we were not interfered with. At 10 P.M. our picquets were attacked, and a sharp fire poured upon them, which was as promptly returned.

"On the 20th, at daybreak, we advanced about a mile or so, the tide having fallen. I was requested to furnish companies on either bank, for the clearance of the jungle. Captain Watts and Lieutenant Whitlock performed this duty, aided by all spare hands from the steamer, and several men of H. M.'s ship *Fox*, under Mr Daws, who all worked with right good will. In the course of the day we exchanged many shots with the Burmese, who, before

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and after the return of the working parties, came boldly down and delivered their fire on the steamer. At 5 P.M. the remaining steamers appeared in sight; we weighed and proceeded about two or three miles, and dropped anchor. I was again called on for a strong picquet—this time on the western bank—which I accompanied and placed in person, under Lieuts. Maud and Cloeté. About 7 P.M. General Godwin arrived, and directed me to have my detachment drawn up in eight divisions, on the Pegu bank, at 6 A.M. the next morning. The Sappers also came with the Artillery, and remained on board for the night, the former under Captain Elliot, Bengal Engineers, being engaged for a couple of hours during the night scarping the bank for the easier ascent of the two 24-pounder howitzers the next morning. The river is very narrow where the landing took place, viz.—within 20 yards of the *Bentinck*; but the banks are very steep. The scene on board that night, so crowded as we were by the new arrivals, beggars all description.

"At 4 A.M. (November 21st) the 5th got under arms, and about a quarter to 5 the landing began. We were soon formed up, as ordered, occupying a grove of plantains. The Rifles and Grenadier Companies shortly joined me; * and by 6 A.M. General Godwin in person came and gave me his orders; they were, in the advance on Pegu, or any other

* Captain Wyndham's Companies had a march of some two or three miles to join his Regiment opposite the *Bentinck*.

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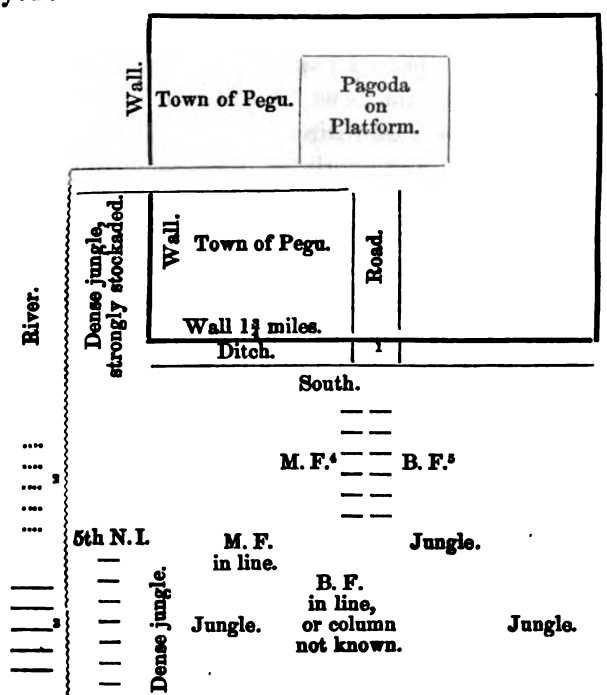
movement which might take place, to keep up with the Madras Fusiliers, and not lose sight of them. Supposing the following to be a rough sketch of Pegu, the position of the troops will be clearer to you :—



1. Gateway. 2. Gun-boats. 3. *Bentinck* and other steamers.
4. M.F.—Madras Fusiliers. 5. B.F.—Bengal Fusiliers.

"At a quarter past 6 A.M. the firing began from the jungle, close round and about the troops. Four

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or five casualties immediately occurred. General Godwin, who was ever in the front, was reconnoitring. The advance was first contemplated through the jungle, between the river and the wall, and the Bengal and Madras Fusiliers, feelers from both, were pushing in that direction; but the severity of the fire proved the Burmese were there in a strong position, and a flank movement parallel with the south wall, and distant about 150 yards from it, was begun and continued for nearly two miles through breast-high grass and a dense—most dense jungle. Before the movement a working party, covered by the Rifles of the 5th, was sent forward to clear a track, and nobly they did their work, the whole force following as they best could, scattered here and there in single or double files over the whole way, a heavy fire pouring upon them for four hours and a half. The guns and Sappers, the former covered by the Grenadiers of the 5th, had been hurried meanwhile to the front. Advantage was taken wherever it could be had of a good bank to pour in volley after volley; but of course the whole force was greatly scattered. The sun was fearful, and the fatigue very great. By the time General Godwin had arrived with the working party, Rifles, and hindmost portion of the Bengal Fusiliers opposite the gateway which was to be stormed, it was discovered that most were dead beat, and that some time must elapse before any thing like proper columns could be formed. By dint of great exer-

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tions the best part of the Bengal, and about half of the Madras Fusiliers were at last got together, allowed breathing time,—the Rifles forming a line of skirmishers in their front,—then nobly harangued by General Godwin, and with a British cheer let loose on the gate and the crumbling wall, the ditch here having little water in it. The fire while the columns were being formed was very severe, and opposite the gate and at the south-west portion of the wall where the 5th were first formed up, was the severest experienced. Captain Seymour, a gallant sailor (the amateur), was first of all the assailants, and conspicuous throughout the day. Passing the gateway the storming parties drove the Burmese, now flying to the westward, fast before them, and then retracing their steps made as rapidly as they could for the Pagoda, about a short mile distant. Here some volleys were exchanged, and Pegu was in our possession. This was about noon.

"All this time the 5th, that is the remaining portion of them, with the remaining half or so of the Madras Fusiliers, were returning the severe fire at extended order, as they best could along the south face of the wall, but collected within three-fourths of a mile or so of the river, knowing nothing of what was going on ahead, the firing permitting no sounds of any kind to reach them. Once only a Staff-officer, Captain Darroch, came down, and noticing the heaviness of the fire, directed me in my flank march not to lose sight of the possibility of the

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Burmese occupying the intervening space between the left of my line and the field hospital which had been formed on the spot where the 5th landed. At noon another Staff-officer came down and hurried the Madras Fusiliers on my right, and the 5th, up to the Pagoda. Our fire doubtless kept the Burmese from passing along the whole length of the south wall, as General Godwin moved in that direction, and in fact quite disconcerted their plans, for they were not prepared for an assault where it was made; and keeping up a steady and rapid fire, they were so held in check between the two points. The Rifle Company had one officer wounded severely, Lieutenant Whitlock; two privates killed and five wounded; the Grenadiers none. About the centre, between the south-west angle and the place of assault, the fire was far less severe *at times*, and in my remaining detachment I lost one officer; Lieutenant Cloeté severely wounded; one havildar killed; and two privates wounded. I have written very hurriedly, and as you will observe much that I have stated did not occur before me, but was gathered on the spot. I beg you to refer to others for the steadiness of the 5th under fire, and the way in which the Rifles and Grenadiers did their work. I can only say the remaining portion were all I could wish them to be. Captain Nicholls had a sun-stroke about half-past ten o'clock P. M. I am sure you will excuse this very hurried statement, and if any par-

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ticulars are incorrect, attribute them to my want of better information." *

[For some interesting details from another Officer's letter, see Appendix No. VII.]

The force left at Pegu will be noticed in the next Chapter. By the 24th, the General, with the greater portion of the troops, had returned to Rangoon. He was on the whole pleased with the gallant affair, though he had to lament the loss of several brave officers and men. About to storm the Pagoda, our gallant Chief certainly "nobly harangued the troops" in a practical style, seldom if ever surpassed. It would have sent the poetical Frenchman recently alluded to into fits—"Now," he said to the Fusiliers,

* The following remarks in connection with the foregoing letter were kindly furnished by an officer, and the Author has much pleasure in publishing them since they chiefly bear upon the usefulness and conduct of a Native Infantry Regiment:—"About 8 A.M. (21st) the Rifles of the 5th M.N.I. were ordered out to skirmish in front of the European troops. The enemy opened a very brisk fire upon them, which was immediately returned by the Rifles and all the troops in line. After about two hours of hard fighting the troops advanced parallel with the stockade. An order then came for the 'Grenadiers of the 5th to the front.' Captain Wyndham immediately went out with them, and kept up a fire upon the enemy until he overtook the ladders carried by the Sappers and Miners. After covering them for a short distance a Staff-officer came to order him to send up half his company to protect the sick and wounded, and to keep the other half to protect the guns. After remaining with the guns half an hour, an order came to leave the guns and bring up the remainder of his men to protect the sick. The sick were placed in huts on the south face of the stockade."

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"*you* are Bengallies, and *you* are Madrassies, let us see who are the best men!" A deafening cheer, a rush, and all was over! Pegu had fallen; but we trust to rise in greater beauty than ever! Our loss was three Officers wounded; one, Lieutenant Cook, of the Commissariat, mortally; and from 35 to 40 of the men, Native and European, were killed and wounded. Two or three Officers were disabled by the sun, among them the worthy Brigadier, Malcolm M'Neill.* They were fighting from seven A. M. till one P. M.

Let all zealous soldiers come to this country and learn what fatigue is, fighting with the enemy in ambush, under a Burmese sun! Had there been carriage, it is highly probable that the General would have gone on to Sitang and Beling. Brigadier Elliott, Commanding the 1st Madras Brigade, with Captain Manners and Lieutenant Pilmer, Staff, had now left for Prome. Intelligence had arrived at Rangoon of the death of Captain Gardner,† of the 40th B. N. I., at Akouk-toung. One story went that he was out patroling—the *Enterprize* lying off Akouk-toung, high and dry the while—and going rather far into

* General Godwin bestowed his thanks on the following Officers in his Despatch, which document, after the details contained in this Chapter, it is not thought necessary to republish: —Brigadier M'Neill, Commander Shadwell, Lieutenant-Colonel Tudor, Majors Hill and Shubrick, Majors Mayhew and Boulderson, Captains Malloch, Brown, Hamilton, Darroch, Burne, Renaud, Latter, and Chads, A.D.C. The enemy was stated to have amounted to upwards of 5,000 men.

† Killed on the 19th November. See Appendix, No. VI.

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the jungle, he suddenly came upon a work of the enemy; a jingal was fired at him, and he fell shot through the head; a havildar, in trying to recover the body, was shot also. He was, according to an Indian Journal, "a son of the Honourable Lieutenant-General Gardner of the Royal Artillery." He had just been appointed a Brigade-Major, on the permanent establishment. He was a man of considerable ability, and his kindly disposition could not fail to strike one immediately on coming in contact with him.

Sixteen iron 9-pounders having arrived, chiefly for the defence of the second terrace of the Great Pagoda, Colonel A——, with his usual practical knowledge and zeal in all matters relating to artillery—on the efficiency of which there cannot be the shadow of a doubt the security, offensive as well as defensive, of all Nations chiefly depends,—allowed several Officers to peruse an excellent paper he had written on the expediency of having all iron 9-pounder guns reamed out to 12-pounders, so as to throw a 12-pounder shot. The 24-pounder was the favourite breeching gun in the Peninsula—at Badajoz, and at St Sebastian. But the weight of the iron 9-pounder reamed to a 12 is more than half the weight of a 24-pounder gun. Weight should be dispensed with on land-service as much as possible. With the Navy weight is of little or no consequence. Robins' rule—"the strength of iron is as the quantity of metal"—fully sanctions the general introduction of all 9-pounders (iron) being

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reamed out to 12's. Again, Colonel A—— proved by experiment that a 12-pounder reamed up to an 18, with carronade windage, is superior to all 18-pounders now in use for land-service. Those who uphold the use of weighty guns on land forget the vast amount of toil and trouble necessary to bring them along. Reaming, such as proposed, improves the windage, and diminishes the weight of our Indian train.

The country about Pegu was described to be in an uncultivated state; the Peguese had on account of the war and its effects neglected to till the ground.* It seemed for the time as if a beautiful and fertile province were on the verge of ruin.

Major Reid, with the rest of his Horse Battery and two guns, embarked for Prome on the 26th of November. A company of the 9th M. N. I. also left for Yunguinchainyah.

On the 27th we received intelligence that the Chief who had so distinguished himself at Puzendown had managed to destroy some 300 or 400 of the enemy who were escorting rice to various posts. This, with the fact of an attack having already been made on the newly captured city of Pegu, shewed very plainly that there were some desperate characters about. The news of this latter affair was not unexpected by many, and the receipt of it was considered to be of little importance.

* We believe it is during the months of June, July, and August, that the Burmese plough, sow, and harrow the ground after their own fashion.

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On the 6th of December poor Walter Cook was no more. A finer young Officer than this (of the 22d M. N. I.,) never stepped. The author of this humble Narrative had served with him in the field among the jungle regions of Orissa, (in 1848,) where his ardent temperament and zeal for the public service were conspicuous in a remarkable degree. At Rangoon there was a chance of renewing our interrupted acquaintance, but now a friend was lost for ever. Peace be to his memory!

Pegu had been attacked a second time by the Burmese, on which occasion it was said a large party of the enemy went to an old house where we had formerly lodged a picquet, and fired away for about two hours. The quarters had been vacated some days before this act of gallantry on their part; some 2,000 people were said to have come into Pegu the next day seeking Major Hill's protection.

It is now time to turn our entire attention for a while to this important quarter; but it may be well to chronicle a few important events before leaving Rangoon. The head-quarters of Artillery left for Prome on Thursday the 9th of December. The French Officer, who had established himself as a favourite, appeared on the morning of packing up, and gave a few suggestions as an old campaiguer. He was the same who in June had come over in the *Emperor* from Calcutta, and was then said to have been employed by the Golden Foot. He struck not a few of us as being a sensible and well-spoken man. He had done every-

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thing, and had been everywhere. He had served in the Brazils, in Africa, in Spain, and in Portugal. "The Burmese," said the Adventurer, "were very brave behind a stockade or a breastwork, but they knew nothing of regular warfare." He had a particular horror at Royalist-France being turned into the country of a Republic. General Godwin now cared little about what the French Officer did, although he considered himself on *parole* and under surveillance. But things were very different in June when it was thought necessary to send the *Fire Queen* and *Berenice*, on her voyage from Calcutta, to bring the *Emperor* in sight of the Commodore, and our Adventurer before the General. The evening before the departure of the Prome party (8th) was saddened by the death of Brigadier M'Neill, already mentioned as having been disabled by the sun in the operations against Pegu. He never recovered from the fatigue and exposure attending the capture. He was of the old school, an excellent and gallant Officer, and a great favourite in the army.

On the afternoon of the 9th intelligence arrived that Pegu was surrounded or besieged. Two hundred Fusiliers and quantities of ammunition were ordered to be shipped immediately. "To the rescue!" was the thought of every Officer and soldier in Rangoon!

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE BURMESE INVESTMENT OF PEGU;— CRITICAL POSITION OF MAJOR HILL AND HIS TROOPS.

It seemed to be General Godwin's policy to retain Pegu as a most important military position. He had won it after a rather severe conflict, but yet the fact appears to have escaped him that the Burmese set any great value upon it. Might there not be a combination among the hostile villages of the Sitang Valley to recapture it? On the 22d of November all the troops, with the exception of 200 Madras Fusiliers under Major Hill, 200 of the 5th M. N. I. under Captain Wyndham, two guns, with a small detachment of European Artillery, and some Madras Sappers, were ordered to return to Rangoon. The news that a small garrison was left to defend the ancient fortress and all the inhabitants of the country who chose to come under our protection, was not long in reaching the Burmese camp. Perhaps at this time it was with the enemy that they could stand a defeat, but could not bear to be despised. It certainly does

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seem strange that our Military Commander did not calculate on a speedy attempt at recapture by the Burmese, who knew tolerably well that on the General's return to Rangoon there was every chance of his proceeding as soon as possible to take the field at Prome. Rangoon was now in a position to have afforded a considerably greater military force at Pegu than what was left there. Very different was it from the month of June when the first capture took place. The plans of the campaign were then, it appeared, in a slow and uncertain state of development, and it was probably prudent at such a time not to draw away troops from our chief conquest. But now, through the unceasing exertions of the Engineers and Sappers, much had been done to the fortifications of Rangoon, and numerous pieces of ordnance had arrived to strengthen that noble fortress. Allowing for the absence of a division of the army at Prome, and troops elsewhere, some 300 or 400 men more, 150 of these at least Europeans, could have been left with ease to garrison Pegu.

As soon as the night of the 24th of November the enemy made an attack upon our gun-boats, but were immediately repulsed. Late in the evening of the 27th they made a most daring attack on all sides of the Pagoda, but as the garrison turned out in a few minutes, they were at once vigorously repelled. The troops remained on the alert till morning, when on examining the ground several dead Burmese were seen. A most desperate attack had likewise been made

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upon the gun-boats in the river and the Commissariat Guard. The latter was composed of 30 men of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, with one naigue and 20 men of the Grenadiers of the 5th M. N. I., the whole commanded by Lieutenant P. A. Brown, of the 1st Madras Fusiliers. This energetic officer spoke in most praiseworthy terms of the conduct of the naigue's * guard. Private Clancey of the Fusiliers also highly distinguished himself on this occasion, defending the stores in a manner worthy of a British soldier, for which he obtained promotion on being recommended to General Godwin. The gallant conduct of Lieutenant Brown was brought to the notice of the Governor-General.

On the 3d of December the enemy again attacked the garrison at Pegu during the night, *Saturday, December 4th.* All the force turned out to erect a stockade for the Peguese, who began to assemble by hundreds, with their families and herds of buffaloes. All Sunday the men—sepoys and soldiers—were hard at work felling timber, shaping it, and building up walls, with numerous other occupations.

During the night of the 5th firing was heard down the river; not long after two sepoys came into camp informing us that they belonged to a party of one jemadar, one havildar, two naigues,

* A naigue in the Native Army is synonymous with our corporal; the scale of ascent is then to havildar or sergeant; then to jemadar, the Native commissioned officer; then to subahdar, of which there are classes.

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and nineteen privates, who had left Rangoon on the 2d of December. Their boat had been attacked by the Burmese, who had killed one sepoy and wounded another; the two narrators of the tragedy also stated that they were in great want of ammunition. Major Hill detained them for the remainder of that night, during which heavier firing was heard from the enemy, and on the morning of the 6th he sent out a party of 30 Europeans under Captain Nicolay of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and 40 Riflemen of the 5th M. N. I. under Captain Brown, to render every possible assistance at the river. On arriving there they found that the Burmese had captured everything in the boat. They had stripped the sepoys of their arms and accoutrements, tied them back to back, and put them in the water up to their necks. Others they had taken on shore and tied to trees, probably with the intention of murdering them; but fortunately the discharge of musketry from our detachment frustrated their design in time. At the first volley the enemy fled; and our men immediately proceeded to release the the unfortunate sepoys. On examining the boat the jemadar (Mooneanaidoo,) and two privates were found killed, and three privates wounded; two naigues and two privates were missing. During the operation of clearing the boat the Burmese returned and fired on the detachment, who smartly returned the fire, and beat them off after a few volleys.

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About 8 o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the enemy — infantry and cavalry — surrounded the Pagoda, and attacked us in great force. They continued to annoy us with jingals and musketry all that day and during a great part of the night, and succeeded in driving off a large herd of the Pegu buffaloes.

From the 7th till the 13th inclusive, the enemy, according to one of the besieged, were firing jingals and musketry day and night. On the 11th two gun-boats arrived from Rangoon with stores and ammunition; but these were driven back after losing several men.* The gallant besieged were now doing their utmost, animated during their unceasing toil with the hope of a speedy reinforcement. Major Hill had sent in three or four bold

* See Appendix No. VIII. On the 10th Captain Shadwell proceeded with the war-boats to Pegu, also the *Nerbudda* with the Fusiliers. Some 75 rounds per gun had been shipped on the evening of the 9th with the greatest speed, through the energy of Captains Voyle and Robertson. At 3 P.M. of December 11th, we received the disastrous intelligence that the boats under Captain Shadwell and the steamer had been compelled to return. The enemy being in vast numbers and more determined than ever, he wisely returned for reinforcements; but not without the war-boats—containing also Captain Malloch and a small party of European Bengal Artillerymen—having had an affair with the Burmese, in which our loss was a sergeant and two men of the Artillery killed, and two or three wounded; also several marines and sailors killed, and many wounded. It was a serious affair, and the whole required and received immediate attention.

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messengers to Rangoon. The foe seemed determined to drive the small band from Pegu; in addition to their rude iron and leaden balls, small brass representations of Gaudama, pieces of iron, necks of bottles, even stones, or round lumps of granite brought hither for the purpose, were fired on our troops from every quarter. Truly the position of Major Hill was at this time hardly less critical than that of the immortal Clive at the famous defence of Arcot. The Burmese had managed to bring a gun of considerable size into a commanding position, which dealt several deadly missiles. According to another of the besieged spent balls hit some one or other very frequently; several of our men were thus wounded at night and not discovered till the morning. Major Hill's "Letter," well worthy of perusal, will be found in the Appendix.

We now turn with pleasure to the Relief of Pegu.

[For some more interesting information our readers are referred to a Letter dated 28th November, in the Appendix.]

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CHAPTER IX.

RELIEF OF PEGU AND OTHER OPERATIONS.

THE most energetic measures were now taken at Rangoon by General Godwin to answer with all possible speed the needy call for relief which came from the Pegu garrison. Rangoon had not been in such a state of excitement since its capture by the British in April. Had the tide of fortune at length turned against us? had the mine of Burmese vengeance at length been sprung, to tell us that the dynasty of Alompra was not yet in danger, and rouse us into action? In any way a great event had taken place. The wonted energy of our chief when anything like danger was to be encountered proved him to be the man for this emergency. But General Godwin unfortunately had much difficulty in providing transports for the troops for the relief of Pegu. Two hundred and fifty Madras Fusiliers under Captain Renaud had been obliged to return to Rangoon in consequence of the disabled state of the river steamer *Nerbudda*, in which they had embarked. These

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troops were transhipped to the *Mahanuddy*, a vessel whose boilers had seen rather too much service. It was not therefore until both these steamers had been repaired that the head-quarters in the *Nerbudda*, and the Madras Fusiliers in the *Mahanuddy*, were enabled to leave Rangoon. At noon of the 12th of December both vessels steamed on until sunset, the *Nerbudda* leading. At daylight next morning, which was very foggy, all the boats conveying the other troops, under convoy of Captain Tarleton, R. N., proceeded with the *Nerbudda* up the river; the other steamer was supposed to be following not far astern. They approached the village of Lomen Seedee as the mist was rising, which was found, as expected, occupied by the enemy, and the river staked, abreast of it. We were quite prepared for the foe; guns loaded, and a party of 25 men on each paddle-box—the starboard furnished by the Madras, the larboard by the Bengal Fusiliers. We had evidently taken the Burmese by surprise; some of them were seen about the village, also a large party with some horsemen moving about on the plain. The left bank near where the steamer was anchored was an open plain; higher up and out of shot, stood the village. The troops were soon landed; and it was speedily determined to occupy the village, as affording shelter —it having been taken for granted that the enemy had retreated. The Bengal Fusiliers were therefore moved up to some of the nearest houses, when about

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twenty shots were fired into them from the high grass and jungle adjoining. One man was slightly wounded; the Burmese escaped without either being seen or fired upon. The village was then occupied, the Madras Fusiliers being on picquet in advance. The *Mahanuddy* not having yet arrived with the remainder of the Fusiliers, the other steamer was therefore sent down to bring the men up. The day wore on, and there being no appearance of the steamer arrangements were made to pass the night in the village, and picquets were thrown out; but no attempt was made to drive the enemy further away, or out of the village of Upper Seedee, about a mile distant. This village had on several occasions—particularly the last, when the boats were obliged to retire—annoyed the Navy considerably; and the occupation of it might have been attended with little or no loss had its entrenchments been turned by a small party, and the enemy there, about 300 or 400 men driven off, and perhaps intercepted.

About midnight a volley was fired into some of the houses, by which one Bengal Fusilier was killed and another was mortally wounded; a sailor was also mortally wounded. Irregular firing now commenced, and the sentries at other points of the line also giving the alarm, some firing—which was fortunately put a stop to in time—had nearly caused considerable confusion, to which the increasing consternation of the servants and few camp-followers would have materially added. Two hours after this disturbance

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the bamboo flooring of one of the houses occupied by the followers falling in, caused great alarm; the troops of course, without inquiring into the cause, stood to their arms and behaved steadily. The steamer returned during the night with Captain Renaud's party, their detention having been caused by the *Mahanuddy* unfortunately grounding. The troops were landed early in the morning, and by 7 A. M. the whole force advanced in the following order:—Two ship guns dragged by sailors of the Royal Navy, under Captain Shadwell, R. N.; 250 Madras Fusiliers under Captain Renaud; 150 Bengal Fusiliers under Major Gerrard, and 300 Sikhs under Major Armstrong, formed the advance of 700 men,—General Godwin commanding, with Brigadier Dickenson. Two hundred of the 10th B. N. I. under Captain Monro; 450 Bengal Fusiliers under Colonel Tudor,—650 men—formed the reserve under Brigadier-General Steel, C. B. The force moved off, marching away from the river so as to avoid Seedee; and on nearing a small village came upon the high road leading to the S. W. gateway of the mound or old wall round the ancient city of Pegu. In the outskirts of the village about 300 of the enemy were posted, and on the plain about 100 Cassay horse. On the approach of our advanced troops the enemy cheered and came on towards us, their infantry flanked by their cavalry. Our skirmishers pushed on answering their cheers; firing commenced, and the Burmese retired, the infantry into the jungle in our

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front, the cavalry keeping to the plain on our flank. As the head of the column was entering the jungle near the S. W. angle of the mound, a short halt took place; the guides had evidently been leading the column in the wrong direction for that point. Counsel was now taken of an excellent guide in Captain Renaud's service, who having urgently represented that the defences at the west point were particularly strong—as was subsequently seen—and that the proper way, which he offered to show, was by the east side, he was at once directed to lead the column. The force continued its march, and after a very fatiguing morning's work reached the gateway in the eastern bund.* Here the head of the column first came in contact with the enemy. Captain Renaud's party quickly pushed over the bund. The Burmese came down through the jungle on the flanks of the column, and opened fire on the reserve; their fire was speedily answered, and they were compelled to retire. All then pushed forward and got within the bund. Firing had, up to the time of the column entering the bund, been heard near the Pagoda. Telescopes were now in requisition, but nothing could be seen of the garrison. A man was at last discovered on the Pagoda, he was made out to be a Burmese soldier; he was immediately afterwards declared to be a Madras Lascar. General Godwin, who had been in a state of intense anxiety, was at

* An artificial mound of earth.

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once relieved. The force now pushed on to the east gateway of the Pagoda; and it was not until a very short distance from it that we observed the garrison, and then learned that the line of bund and old Pagodas from which it was commanded, had been occupied by the Burmese until within a few minutes of our entering the fortress, that we had taken them in reverse, and that had we been aware of it, by detaching a party to our right on entering the first bund, we might have cut many, if not all off. The troops were now "dead-beat;" and quietly rising with terrific glow, shone forth the fierce Burmese sun—than which the heat is not more intense, except perhaps occasionally in China. Few out of the whole force were equal to more exertion during the heat of that day. It had been a long and fatiguing march, but not yet was there to be a rest of any duration. All the troops crowded into the Pagoda and completely covered its area. Then commenced cordial greetings of welcome; tales of adventure experienced within the last few days; and the frequent remark of the soldier to his comrade on the care-worn and fagged appearance of some of the relieved. The men were lying about taking their rest when about 4 P.M. a fire was opened upon them from the old commanding ground which the enemy had again occupied; in a few minutes several men were hit, and it became necessary to dislodge and drive them out of the defences along the river bank, and south and west faces of the bund. These services were performed

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in a very brilliant manner by the troops employed; and this being the first time we had an opportunity of beholding the Sikhs acting by themselves, their progress was attentively observed. Nothing could have exceeded their enthusiasm, and their forward propensities are beyond a doubt. They advanced steadily and coolly across a piece of open ground fully exposed to the fire of the Burmese, who, posted on the mound, were completely covered by the jungle; they pushed on however without answering the fire, and when sufficiently near ran in on the enemy and gallantly drove them from their position. The same men whose bravery had given Lords Hardinge and Gough their peerages, who had proved themselves to be one of the most formidable foes the British ever had to encounter in India, were now nobly acting on our side in defence of order and a just government, 3,000 miles from the land of their birth, from the land where the pride of the Khalsa army but yesterday became mutinous, disorganised, and fallen! The Bengal Fusiliers had been directed to clear the works to the south and west, which they soon did in an effective style, destroying the stockades and defences, out of which they expelled the enemy. All the troops returned after dusk to the Pagoda, well tired out; they slept under what cover they could get; many being without great-coats suffered much during the night from the cold damp and dew, which no doubt laid the foundation of much of the subsequent sickness and mortality.

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From what we saw of the Cassay horse, and the activity of the enemy in evading us on the plain, we all looked forward to the arrival of Colonel Sturt's land column,* with a portion of Burgoyne's Troop of Madras Horse Artillery, Sappers, Ramghur Cavalry, and 67th Bengal Native Infantry; feeling assured the mounted men would give a good account of the cunning Burmese soldiery on the plains over which they had to pass to reach Shoé-Gyne or Sitang; and more particularly on the following morning when the whole Burmese army of about 9000 or 10,000 men were observed from the Pagoda taking up a position and entrenching themselves on the plains about the village of Kully, between four and five miles distant, on the Shoé-Gyne road.

It was now but natural to believe that General Godwin would not venture an attack upon the enemy in such force without aid from the expected land column in the shape of cavalry and artillery. In the first place he could have no guns with him, for he had "no means of drawing them;" and in the second, without cavalry, in any fortunate movement made by our infantry, he had not the means of following up and cutting off the enemy. But no doubt the General's presence was urgently required at Prome. To him time was everything. He would not be content with the glorious achievement of having relieved Pegu, but he was determined

* Of some 700 men, which General Godwin had dispatched to co-operate with his other force.

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also to free that garrison from the near position of the Burmese Army! It is difficult to say whether others similarly situated would not have been inclined to act likewise; but we think that the majority, under the circumstances, would have waited for the land-column. As to time, there was Brigadier-General Steel, a distinguished Company's Officer, who could have waited to disperse the enemy with effect, while the Senior General was steaming to Rangoon or to Prome, ready to gain any amount of glory that might be in store for him. But it was ordained otherwise.

On the 15th orders were issued for the force to march on the following morning. During the day this was countermanded, in consequence of the commissariat supplies not being brought up. The Burmese were still observed entrenching themselves about the village of Kully, and showed no intention of retiring.

On the 16th nothing was heard from Colonel Sturt's column. According to orders issued on that day the force—composed of 570 Bengal Fusiliers, 182 10th B.N.I., 330 Sikhs, 150 Madras Fusiliers, and 30 Sappers; total, 1230 men—was warned to be prepared to move on the following morning. The men were directed to carry their great-coats, and one day's cooked provisions in their haversacks. A memorandum was also required from Commandants of Corps of the positive requirements of their men in the way of shirts and trowsers, with a view to their being procured from Rangoon; men and Officers

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having left Rangoon for this service with the least possible quantity of clothing. None of the officers had horses, Generals Godwin and Steel excepted; and the rations for the force were carried on in carts drawn by buffaloes.

The force moved out of the Pagoda, following Captain Latter's guides. We wound slowly through the jungle to the north of Pegu, and emerged on the plain about half-past 9 A.M. So little were the enemy expecting us that the garrison of Pegu saw from the Pagoda their elephants feeding in the jungle near us, and had we been aware of it we might have captured them all. On our column reaching the plain signal guns were fired from the enemy's lines, evidently to collect their people. On reconnoitring their position, it appeared to be three lines of entrenchments, the right on the river, and extending across the Shoé-Gyne road, far into the plain; on the left of the road, which was the centre of their position, ran a jungly nullah, which we subsequently found had been so spiked and entrenched that had we advanced by that route our loss would have been very considerable from a foe who outmarched us and fought under cover. General Godwin determined to turn the left of their position, and moved to the right. The Cassay horse approached and kept pace with our column, moving on our right flank. After the force had turned the left of the first line of entrenchments it was halted, and dispositions made for attacking in two columns; one—the left—

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under General Steel, the other under General Godwin. The left column was soon in its place, impatiently waiting the signal to advance; it was not given; the enemy were seen moving in huge masses from their left, and it is the opinion of some that had the left column been permitted it could have cut them off. An Aide-de-Camp was sent off to General Godwin to inform him of what was going on in front, and returned with an order that the attack of the left column was not to take place, but was to stand firm and cover his flank when he attacked. At this order considerable disappointment was felt by the left column. General Steel rode back to join our Chief on the right; and Major Seaton, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and his men, had to remain inactive, seeing an enemy they could by a rapid dash get in among and severely punish, walk leisurely off. When the advance by General Godwin at last took place, the enemy were in full retreat; a few only remained on our front; and although the attacking party, European and Native, more particularly the Sikhs, were exceedingly forward and energetic, our men were never able to approach sufficiently near to do the execution they would have done had they been permitted to attack at the proper time. While the column was thus halted the Cassay horse on our right were emboldened to make a charge. They rode down with some spirit, but none of our infantry Field Officers being mounted they had not sufficient

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command over their men, some of whom in the hurry and excitement fired too soon, and were followed by the rest of the line; a few saddles only were emptied, and the Cassay horse got out of shot at the quickest possible pace. The Burmese retreated by the Shoé-Gyne road, and the column was halted in a tope of trees which had formed their head-quarters. After more than an hour's halt the men stood to their arms, and formed upon a road leading nearly west. Hopes were now entertained of again speedily beholding the enemy. Although not a vestige or trace of any number of men was observed along the road, yet on the repeated assurance of the guides the march in that direction unfortunately was persisted in, which ended in our reaching the village of Lephandoon before sunset. With the exception of a broken down buffalo cart and an old woman—there are no patriots in Burmah so staunch as the old women, come friend or foe—the post was found abandoned. The old woman stated in a lively manner that the enemy had not been there that day. General Godwin, it is said, expressed his extreme displeasure at the conduct of the guides. Many now thought that instead of halting in the tope the enemy should have been at once followed up along the Shoé-Gyne road; as the men had not marched far, and their blood was up, they could have kept up a hot pursuit for many miles, and perhaps, although unaided by cavalry, they would have captured some guns and baggage,

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also carts and other carriage, which we much required. The guides on this occasion seemed to have taken us off the proper line of pursuit, which was the more provoking when it was considered that they were under the charge of one who possessed a vast knowledge of the Burmese language and character.

For the night the force occupied the houses on the left bank of the river at Lephandoon, and after sunrise on the 18th moved off in a north-easterly direction. After proceeding some distance we came upon the Shoé-Gyne road, about two miles north of the tope where we had unfortunately halted the day before, and proceeded along it. Every yard showed the traces of a multitude having crowded along it in great confusion. The road was narrow, through thick grass and paddy, and in some places tall elephant grass, all sufficiently thick to impede the march of infantry except on the road. Approaching the village of Montsanganoo there was a thick belt of jungle, but it was found unoccupied. The force passed through it and found shelter in huts and sheds. A vast plain extended to the front and our right. The guides declared that the enemy had pushed on, and were at least twenty miles off. Under such belief all ranks got under such cover as the place afforded, and it was determined to return on the following day to Pegu Lemen. About one o'clock P.M. it was reported that two of the Cassay horse had appeared in front of the position occupied

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by the detachment of the Madras Fusiliers. A Staff and two other officers, accompanied by two men, went out along the northern road to reconnoitre and the Burmese being within long rifle range, two shots from a Minié were fired at them, the first at about 460 yards, went sufficiently close to one to make him bow his head, another at about double the distance also fell close. The horsemen making off at their utmost speed, the party moved on to a wooden bridge, from which they had retired, and where a better view of the country in our front was expected. From this nothing could at the time be seen except a village and some large houses to our left, some Poonghee houses on the road, about a mile in advance of the bridge, and a large village some distance to the right; in many places it was thought a line of newly turned up earth could be distinguished, as if extending from the houses on the road, on both sides, towards the villages on the right and left. Not a Sowar was to be seen except the two horsemen above noticed, who observing the party stationary at the bridge, began to approach slowly. It was at this time that Captain Travers, General Steel's Aide-de-Camp, rode up on his brave little Arab *Selim*, and galloping past the party, the Cassay horse wheeled about. The gallant Aide-de-Camp dashed on after them, and had gained within 100 yards of the last, when many more men suddenly rode out to meet him, and numbers of the enemy showing themselves

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about the houses, the energetic Captain was compelled to pull up. As he walked quietly back, the Burmese horsemen following at a respectful distance, the whole extent, from village to village, became alive with men. A long line rose up from their entrenchments, where they had been lying concealed, and the houses and villages were soon filled. A peremptory order at this time arrived for the party to return to their lines, upon which our opponents fell back on theirs. The presence of the whole enemy within two miles of his head-quarters thus by chance became known to General Godwin from the unauthorised act of two or three officers and men going out beyond the outposts to reconnoitre. The position occupied by the British was better adapted for affording shelter to the troops than for defence; a few huts on the right, a shady tope, and some sheds on the left; the rear close on a jungle, and a nullah which turned up round our left flank and extended nearly to the right centre of the enemy's position, would have enabled him at any time, day or night, to have brought his whole force unperceived into our rear and left flanks, and to have occupied the thick jungle within half-musket shot of us. There was certainly something wrong in the present state of affairs. The guides asserted that it was all a mistake, there was no enemy near. However, an old ruined pagoda in the jungle, in rear of our head-quarters, and which had been used by the Burmese as a look-out, enabled others

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to see them as they had been reported; and a body of their infantry moving down into the belt of jungle in front of their right centre, an officer with a small party again went towards the bridge to reconnoitre, when the enemy attempted to cut off their retreat. More of their troops pushed forward; but our party was brought slowly back, keeping clear of the jungle which was now occupied by our adversaries, and bringing down, following them at a respectable distance, considerable numbers of their infantry, with a few horse. The bugles in camp now sounded; the men stood to their arms in a few minutes, and the force moved on to meet the foe, who on seeing our troops advance fell gradually back on his entrenchments, our skirmishers dislodging those who had entered the belt of jungle on our left. After crossing the bridge two columns of attack were formed; the right intended for General Godwin, the left given to General Steel. The right had some little farther distance to march; General Godwin did not accompany it, and the next senior officer lost no time in getting into motion. The left column was halted and held back by General Godwin's personal order. Thus in the opinion of some was a chance of fairly and successfully closing with the enemy lost, who, as on the previous day, retreated slowly and surely. There can be little doubt that a steady active advance would have brought our troops into action, but apparently General Godwin was not

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desirous of risking such a contact. The skirmishers of the left column only were engaged; the right carried the village on the enemy's left. Night closed in, and the force marched back to their former ground, where they found that the sheds they had protected themselves in during the day had been set fire to. The following morning we left Montsanganoo after sunrise, and reached Pegu about one o'clock P.M.

The operations on the 17th and 18th showed that had Colonel Sturt's column been waited for the army of the enemy would in all probability have been entirely destroyed. No country could have been more favourable for cavalry, and the few patches of jungle their infantry might have found refuge in could have been cleared by our own. But between Kully and Montsanganoo there was a sufficient space of open ground for the destruction of the force. A blow might have been struck at Kully on the 18th or 19th which would have paralysed them with terror, and compelled them to submit to our power; and from the carriage the enemy's camp would have supplied, a rapid movement on Shoé-Gyne would have obtained us possession of that town, and the almost certain annihilation of that boasting Burmese army. It is a humane wish to be lenient with the actions of men. We must narrate however that this grand opportunity was lost by not waiting for a most efficient column which marched from and back to Rangoon without

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once coming into action.* The exposure and fatigue the troops underwent on the 17th and 18th caused much sickness from cholera; the Bengal Fusiliers in a few days lost upwards of 20 men. The natives also suffered considerably. General Godwin, as is ever the case, shewed the greatest coolness under fire, and an entire disregard of self; and nothing could have been better than the relief of Pegu and the plans of attack on the 17th and 18th. These were admirably conducted until it came to the moment for acting, when it appeared as if the veteran Chief lacked decision, and seemed to be unconscious of the enemy passing away before him. Whatever may have been General Godwin's motives for not attacking his enemy with vigour on the 17th and 18th—and he had shown himself quite capable of vigorous and successful attacks even during the Second Burmese War—whatever may have been his motives for not waiting for Colonel Sturt's column, or leaving General Steel to follow up the enemy when the Horse Artillery and Cavalry arrived—he relieved Pegu and turned the enemy's position on the 17th with little or no loss to his own troops.

The three days' work on the 14th, 17th, and 18th of December tried the stoutest and hardiest of the force. Some old campaigners declared the "Punjaub" was a joke to it as far as fatigue went. None

* See Colonel Sturt's Despatch, dated Pegu, December 19, 1852, Appendix No. VIII.

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displayed greater endurance than General Godwin himself, and several of the oldest officers who accompanied him.

The General embarked at Pegu on the 20th, and arrived at Rangoon on the morning of the 22d, after leaving "a reinforcement with the garrison at Pegu,* and strengthening their party of Sappers as a temporary measure, to allow of their putting themselves in a perfect state of defence." The British Commander in his Despatch bestowed no small share of praise on the officers and men employed in the harassing and arduous duties we have just been relating; and we are assured that never was praise better deserved. But leaving the Despatch for the Appendix, we shall here give the General Order issued by General Godwin in honour of Major Hill's gallant defence of Pegu:—"Major-General Godwin is most proud to express his admiration of the noble defence of the Pegu Pagoda (against a host of enemies) made by Major Hill and the brave handful of Officers and Soldiers under his command for so many days and anxious nights, cut off as they were from the succour of their comrades by the works of the enemy on the river as well as by the distant communication with the head-quarters of the army. It is a fine example to this army of what

* Amounting now to some 700 men, including 450 Europeans. On the 31st inst. a detachment of the 19th M.N.I. marched up to the Pegu Pagoda; it consisted of 250 men, and was sent to relieve the detachment of 5th M.N.I. ordered to Rangoon.

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bravery under the direction of cool courage can do, giving, as Major Hill has done, confidence to all, by which alone the Pegu garrison has gained so much honor."

[Dated Pegu, 17th December 1852.]

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CHAPTER X.

THE PROCLAMATION.

THE Land Column under Colonel Sturt had left Rangoon on the 13th of December. Attacks on the great fortress had been openly spoken of; but Brigadier Duke had taken every precaution. It certainly was an excellent opportunity for the Burmese to commit some daring act; for never before had Rangoon been so denuded of troops. Any attempt on the citadel itself would have met with a repulse rarely equalled for its terrible effects. The artillery was all in capital position—a gun at every vulnerable point on the terraces of the Pagoda—a 24-pounder howitzer ready to sweep the north steps, where it was said a rush might be made to regain possession of Gaudama's most famous temple. We may be said to have prevented an attack by being

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ready for it. And we trust that our native land will be the same should danger ever threaten her, not only to repel, but to repel with vigour, and annihilate presumptuous power!

About the middle of the month Captain Phayre, who had been appointed Commissioner of Pegu, arrived at Rangoon with the Governor-General's Proclamation annexing Pegu to the British territories in the East. This act had been forced on the Government of India. A Second Burmese War, it is useless to repeat, was in the last degree repugnant to the feelings of that Government. Lord Dalhousie did everything that man could do to avoid it. He wished no addition to our territories; but the force of circumstances willed it, as they have done since the days of Clive, and as they will do till the end of time or England's glory. "We cannot stop here!" said Clive on the plains of Bengal. Why should we stop "here" if Providence means us to go *there?* Seventy years ago when they talked of schemes of conquest in India, and the British Senate declared that the pursuit of them was "contrary to the wish, policy, and interest of the British Nation," the zealous speakers little knew how the force of circumstances would produce much rightful conquest, ending even in the annexation of such kingdoms as the Punjaub, Scinde, and Pegu.

The following is the Proclamation, so exactly adapted to "the meridian of Ava, and to the comprehension of its subjects:"—

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NOTIFICATION.

Fort-William, Foreign Department, the 30th December 1852.

The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that the following Proclamation, whereby the Province of Pegu has been declared to be a portion of the British Territories in the East, shall be published for general information.

His Lordship in Council directs that in honor of this event, a Royal Salute shall be fired at every principal Station of the Army in the several Presidencies of India.

By Order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council,

C. ALLEN,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

PROCLAMATION.

THE COURT OF AVA having refused to make amends for the injuries and insults which British subjects had suffered at the hands of its servants, the Governor-General of India in Council resolved to exact reparation by force of arms.

The Forts and Cities upon the coast were forthwith attacked and captured; the Burmese forces have been dispersed wherever they have been met; and the Province of PEGU is now in the occupation of British troops.

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The just and moderate demands of the Government of India have been rejected by the King; the ample opportunity that has been afforded him for repairing the injury that was done has been disregarded; and the timely submission which alone could have been effectual to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom, is still withheld.

Wherefore, in compensation for the past, and for better security in the future, the Governor-General in Council has resolved, and hereby Proclaims, that the Province of PEGU is now, and shall be henceforth a portion of the British territories in the East.

Such Burman troops as may still remain within the Province shall be driven out; Civil Government shall immediately be established; and Officers shall be appointed to administer the affairs of the several districts.

The Governor-General in Council hereby calls on the inhabitants of PEGU to submit themselves to the authority, and to confide securely in the protection of the British Government; whose power they have seen to be irresistible, and whose rule is marked by justice and beneficence.

The Governor-General in Council having exacted the reparation he deems sufficient, desires no further conquest in Burmah, and is willing to consent that hostilities should cease.

But if the King of Ava shall fail to renew his former relations of friendship with the British Government, and if he shall recklessly seek to dis-

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pute its quiet possession of the Province it has now declared to be its own, the Governor-General in Council will again put forth the power he holds, and will visit with full retribution aggressions which, if they be persisted in, must of necessity lead to the total subversion of the Burman State, and to the ruin and exile of the King and his race.

By Order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council,

C. ALLEN,

Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

20*th December* 1852.

ORDERS BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

Foreign Department, Fort-William, the 30*th December* 1852.

The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to make the following appointments:—

Lieutenant-Colonel A. Bogle to be Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces.

Captain H. T. Berdmore, Madras Artillery, to be Deputy Commissioner in the Province of Martaban.

Lieutenant D. A. Chase, 64th N. I., to be Assistant ditto.

Captain A. P. Phayre to be Commissioner of the Province of Pegu. *

* Consequent on this appointment Captain Hopkinson succeeded to Arracan.

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Deputy Commissioners.

Captain T. P. Sparks, 7th M.N.I., at Rangoon.

Lieutenant A. Fytche, 70th N.I., at Bassein.

Captain T. Latter, 67th N.I., at Prome.

Captain J. Smith, 13th M.N.I., at Sarawah.

Lieutenant R. D. Ardagh, Magistrate of the Town of Rangoon.

Lieutenant E. J. Spilsbury, 67th N.I., Assistant ditto.

Assistant Commissioners.

Lieutenant C. D. Grant, 11th M.N.I., at Bassein.

Lieutenant G. Dangerfield, Madras Artillery, at Sarawah.

Lieutenant J. S. Baird, Madras Artillery, at Prome.

Dr J. M'Clelland to be Officiating Superintendent of Forests, Pegu.

Mr R. S. Edwards, Collector of Customs, Prome.

Mr T. J. Fallon, Collector of Sea Customs, Bassein.

C. ALLEN,

Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

At Rangoon, on the morning of the 20th, the annexation of Pegu was proclaimed on board H.M's. Ship *Fox*, amid the roaring of cannon from the navy. On the 21st it was proclaimed to the army, and a grand parade was ordered for the occasion. The Proclamation was read to the troops in the various languages in the presence of Captain Phayre, a detachment of Horse Artillery on the right firing a Royal Salute. Brigadier Duke then marched

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the troops home, when another salute was fired from the upper terrace of the Great Pagoda. Pegu had become British!

"The Proclamation," wrote the *Friend of India* shortly after, "will be read at the Courts of Siam and Cochin China, and even at Pekin itself." A blow had been struck which would no doubt vibrate throughout Eastern Asia; and exclusive Nations would learn henceforth that they need not think of attempting to insult or oppress British subjects with impunity. "In 1752, we were in possession of three factories and twenty square miles of territory; at the close of 1852, we are the sovereigns of all India, and not a shot is fired in it without our permission: we rule over 650,000 square miles, and a population of more than one hundred millions." A new province had just been annexed, at a rough calculation 200 miles in length by nearly 200 in breadth, of some 40,000 *square* miles, said to contain between four and five millions of inhabitants. On this over-estimate of the population it may be well to touch hereafter. It was thought that the administrative talents of Captain Phayre, who had been "one of the chief means of turning the swamps of Arracan into the granary of the bay, and whose forte lies in making a little kingdom a great one," * would soon render Pegu a most important and valuable British possession in what Malte Brun styles *Chin-India*,

* *Friend of India*, January 13.

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which title has certainly more meaning in it than "India beyond the Ganges."

General Godwin had received a copy of the Proclamation while busily employed at Pegu. The General having concluded operations in that quarter, and having given orders regarding an admirable flank movement to be made by a Land Column from Martaban to Shoé-Gyne, he left Rangoon with his Staff for Prome on Wednesday the 29th of December.

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CHAPTER XI.

BURMESE NIGHT ATTACK ON PROME.

AN Artillery officer, writing from Prome on the 1st of December 1852, gave a detailed account of matters in that quarter, from which we were led to imagine that a storm of some kind was gathering not far off—one which should break the spell of a tedious military repose. There was little or nothing of any interest going on in our camp. One of the Burmese outposts could be seen from a hill on which were planted two 8-inch howitzers. Some said that they had received orders to attack us, but it was believed by many that they would not have the audacity to attempt it. It was also asserted that from one-third to one-half of the people at Euthāy-Mew were sick—fever being the prevailing disease among the hostile soldiery. Maong-Mong, the Viceroy of Pegu—the Governor of Rangoon at the commencement of the war—was dead; his successor had either died of the general complaint, or had been killed; and the present Com-

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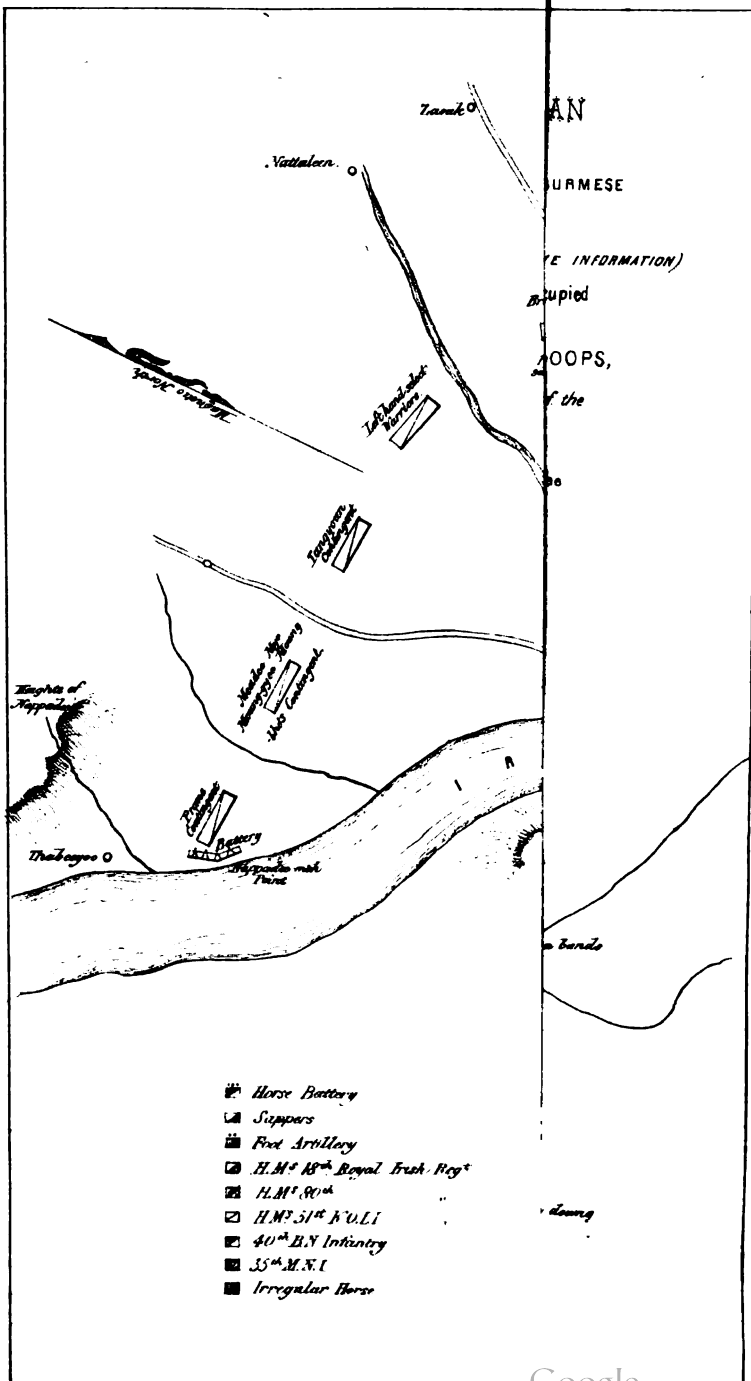

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mander—the "left-handed Chief"—was deemed the bravest warrior the enemy could bring into the field. Some 5000 or 6000 men were at Euthāy-Mew; these were at one time reported to be within three miles of the British camp. The thermometer was on one or more occasions as low as 65°, and it would rise the same day to 83°—a considerable variation. Some of the regiments, especially H. M.'s 18th and 80th, were suffering severely from sickness; and probably Sir John Cheape in a measure attributed with some reason this falling off in the health of his troops to the inactive and monotonous life they so long had been compelled to lead. Just eight days after the above-mentioned letter was written the Burmese made a most daring night attack on Prome.

Another officer who was present kindly furnished us with the following intelligence of this affair; also with the accompanying plan, which is curious from the fact of having been derived from native information—meaning of course that portion of it regarding the enemy and the names of their different battalions—which will surely be of interest at home at a period when a new Empire and the rumoured augmentation of armies must render Exeter Hall perfectly frantic.

With the exception of the trusty guardians of our position, Prome, on the night in question, was wrapped in slumber. These sentries, with wary eye, paced the fronts of their respective picquets. It

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was about midnight when the sharp and heavy report of three signal guns from the enemy's advanced post startled the "night watch," and roused their sleeping comrades. Now commenced a scene of energy and activity. The General, feeling assured that something like danger was at hand, sprang from his couch, but waited for some further indications of the presence of a foe ere he roused his sleeping soldiery. But he had not long to wait; for the sharp rattle of musketry and the heavier report of the jingal announced that our picquets were attacked. Soon the bright flash and deafening roar of our own heavy ordnance told that the advancing columns of the enemy offered a mark for their destructive fire. The attack was rapid, but much more so was the reply of our troops to the challenge of "the assembly." In a short space of time each picquet was reinforced, and every assailable point occupied. Staff officers were now to be seen here and there—some mounted, others on foot—rapidly conveying the orders of the Chief, who, ever active, flew to each post of danger; and well pleased did he seem on surveying each point open to attack, that some days before the defences of the city had been completed. A detachment of the 35th M. N. I. held Narweing, supported by connecting picquets of H. M.'s 18th and 51st, thus communicating with the town; the head-quarters of the 35th supported the main body of the 51st on the left; the Madras Sappers, with double

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picquets, supported the 40th B. N. I. and the 18th Royal Irish on the heights on our extreme right. The guns, with portions of the 18th and 80th, held the central position. The enemy made repeated assaults; charge after charge—accompanied with wild yells and cries—was attempted, but the steady fire from the heights and from our left drove them back again and again. A few of them reached a sand on the river's bank, where some of the friendly inhabitants of the town had built their miserable huts; here they wounded a few poor men and women, but a demonstration from our right caused these remorseless warriors to make a speedy retreat, and the Irregular Horse held that point in check for the remainder of the night. They prolonged their fruitless attacks till dawn of day; but the safety of our troops was complete, as the enemy invariably fired too high. Their file-firing on H.M.'s 51st was remarked as admirable, as far as regularity and being well kept up were concerned, but then it had the above mentioned defect. Thus finding that no point yielded, and that all their determined efforts were in vain, they drew off at daylight, but appeared again shortly after at some distance from our camp, and on observing a body of Sappers going out to work, drew up in regular order across a plain, in a very good position. The chiefs were distinguished by their gilt helmets, riding in the advance and arranging their posts. Thus they stood a short time; but on the appear-

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ance of a covering party of Europeans for the Sappers, they retired and fell back upon Euthāy-Mew. In the afternoon Sir John Cheape followed up the attack, moving out with a small force of European and Native troops, with two guns. He advanced unmolested in two columns, covered by the Irregular Horse, close to the advanced post of the enemy. (*See Plan.*) The Burmese appeared behind some entrenchments, and fired a few shots; it was too late however to commence an attack; Sir John therefore returned, but not without having achieved one great object—that of a good reconnoissance of their position.

And thus ended the excitement of the night attack on Prome, the resistance to which throughout appears to have been admirably managed, reflecting the highest credit on the troops employed, and on the chief who before had gained renown at Moultan and on the plains of Goojerat.

Since the above, wrote a correspondent on the 1st of January, the Burmese made several threats of night attacks, none of which were ever fulfilled; and the larger portion of the force which surrounded the British camp had drawn off. It was said that the King of Ava required the presence of his troops to protect him from the violence of his foster-brother.

We cannot omit in this Chapter to bring to general notice the admirable conduct and untiring exertions of a small body of the native

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army—men who, although they had been broken down by disease, had rendered the most valuable service previous to the above night attack, in the construction of breastwork, battery, abattis, parapet, bridge, and road. Yes, it will be read now and hereafter with admiration, that the small body of Madras Sappers at Prome worked as subjects of the British Indian Government should work—with the right spirit of soldiers!

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CHAPTER XII.

THE MARTABAN LAND COLUMN.—TO MARTABAN.

PEGU having now become a portion of the British territories in the East, the most emphatic part of the Proclamation remained to be carried into effect:—"SUCH BURMAN TROOPS AS MAY STILL REMAIN WITHIN THE PROVINCE SHALL BE DRIVEN OUT!" To clear both banks of the noble Sitang river, which, after running some hundreds of miles in a nearly southerly direction through Ava, falls into the Gulf of Martaban; to expel the enemy and give confidence to peaceful subjects as far as Shoé-Gyne, or perhaps Tonghoo;—such was the nature of the work marked out for the Martaban Land Column. It was to be the pioneer of civilisation in an almost unknown land—a land said to be infested with desperate characters of every description—men to whom oppression was a delight, and who held human life as cheap as the food they lived upon. But yet, with such philanthropic ends in view, a few were not backward in denouncing the

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coming march as an "insane project;" * they believed that half the army would, either from sickness or hunger, perish in the jungle. "You will have plenty of exposure and hard work"—"little or no fighting, little water, and some fever;" such were the more rational opinions entertained by the majority of the military at Rangoon. But philosophical was the idea held by those who declared that no one knew anything about it. And again there were some who simply maintained that the march would be one of the grandest movements, if not *the* grandest, yet made upon the chess-board of Burmese and English strife!

In the General Orders by Brigadier-General Steel, C.B., on the 29th of December, a field force was ordered to be prepared for embarkation at the shortest notice to proceed to Martaban. The Martaban Column was to be under the personal command of the Brigadier-General commanding the Madras Division of the Army of Ava. The General Staff of that Division, including Dr Davidson, Staff-Surgeon, were to accompany the force. The following details were ordered to be furnished from Rangoon:—One European Company of Madras Artillery, with a battery; one Company of Sappers and Miners; 450 Bengal Fusiliers, and 150 Madras Fusiliers; head-quarters and wing of the 10th Bengal Native Infantry; head-quarters and wing of the 5th Madras Native Infantry; a detachment of Ramghur Irregular

* *Friend of India.*

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Cavalry; and Lieut. Fraser of the Bengal Engineers, was to accompany the force.

On the morning of Tuesday the 4th of January 1853, General Steel and Staff embarked in the H. E. I. C.'s steam frigate *Moozuffer*, for Martaban. This noble vessel—to whose Commander we have before alluded—mounted five 8-inch guns and two 32-pounders, and measured some 1500 tons, carrying engines of about 550 horse power. The *Zenobia* and *Berenice*, with the transports *Futtel Rozack*, *Atalanta*, and *Teazer*, were likewise employed in the conveyance of the column. H. M.'s steamer *Sphynx*, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Lambert, towed the *General Godwin*, laden with ordnance and stores. The ever active *Fire Queen*, which had been so often the messenger of good and bad news to us, and the welcome "herald of a noisy world" during the campaign, having just arrived with a mail from Calcutta, was also about to proceed to Moulmein, having on board Mr J. R. Colvin, who, it was said, had been deputed by Government to inquire into the administration of the territories of Arracan and Tenasserim.

By Noon of Wednesday the 5th all the troops were anchored off their destination. The brief voyage, by several in the *Moozuffer* at least, was considered a very pleasant one. While the Captain entertained the seniors at his own table his officers made themselves extremely agreeable to the military in the gun-room. Some very fair music from the

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Moozuffer's band—chiefly composed of flutes and fiddles—also enlivened a long evening. After several airs, "Mr Francis give us '*Love Not*,'" lustily roared out a ship's officer. The baton was wielded with considerable skill, and perhaps as the beautiful tune proceeded a few bachelors became sentimental on considering the change that might come over them ere they returned from a region of unknown forests and jungle to try their fortune with Love in earnest. We might be able to relate a "yarn" or two told that same night; but we prefer sticking to our business, and giving instead, in this matter-of-fact Narrative, the following naval adventure,* which is well worthy of a place in "The Second Burmese War":—

A naval expedition, under the command of Captain Shadwell, R.N., left Rangoon on the 24th of December. There were employed the cutter of H. M.'s frigate *Winchester*, with 15 men; two paddle-box boats of the *Moozuffer*, with two 12-pounder howitzers and 40 men; a paddle-box boat of H.M's steamer *Sphynx*, with a 24-pounder howitzer and rocket tubes; H. M. S. *Fox's* barge; two boats from the *Zenobia*, with the same armament as the *Moozuffer*; the *Zenobia's* gig, with Captain Rennie, and the *Sphynx's* gig, with Captain Shadwell. The boats of the *Moozuffer* were under the charge of Lieut. Mitchison, I. N., and Mr Freeman, master;

* From notes kindly furnished by Mr Freeman, Master of the *Moozuffer*.

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those of the *Zenobia* under Lieut. Aylesbury, I. N., with Mr Mason, mate. A notorious Burmese chieftain had been for sometime robbing and oppressing the inhabitants of a tract of country some distance to the southward of Bassien and the westward of Rangoon. The people had been driven from their villages into strange quarters, where it did not seem to the chief at least at all probable the British would yet venture to afford them protection. However the fleet of boats on the 28th did arrive at a certain creek: it was soon down sails, and the men had to pull up with all their might. Passing a few breastworks they entered a main river. Immediately the *Fox's* barge dashed off in noble style, for there were hundreds of boats or canoes in sight, but all bearing white flags. A large village was now seen, and at this position the party hoped to meet their enemy —the notorious "Musheboo!" As our boats passed the canoes the women held up their children, and the greater portion of them seemed more glad than frightened at the Europeans' appearance. To get to this spot our boats had passed one barrier; they were soon passing a second, when one of the *Moozuffer's* craft stuck on a sunken tree. An anchor was laid out, and she was speedily got off; but her crew had the mortification of finding themselves considerably in the rear. Nothing can be more annoying to a sailor than this, when there is a chance of a shot a-head. After the boat got off, her crew pulled vigorously to catch up the other boats. Pass-

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ing the village, or rather town, some of their comrades came in sight; these had received orders to go back again to the end of the town and be ready to burn the houses when evacuated, or stop suspicious boats. The people began to get ready for a move as soon as possible; indeed many of them had their property in their canoes before the naval party arrived. It seemed as if they had been hourly expecting succour. By noon all were ready to set off. And now what a swarm of boats was to be seen! each containing an average of three women to two men, with a due proportion of children. In the afternoon the fleet moved down to the entrance of the creek—the canoes entering it to make off to their respective villages, which they did without loss of time. A portion of a boat's crew was stationed to count the multitudes as they passed a tree on the bank of the creek, which was not more than four or five yards wide. Every one was amazed at the immense number of boats, which amounted to 1300, containing 8040 souls! all these were thus released from their oppressors by the gallant expedition under Captain Shadwell. The party returned to Rangoon at day-light on New-year's morning.

From Amherst to Moulmein the distance is 26 miles. On approaching the former you at first behold a small island standing out boldly from the sea; then appears a bold picturesque coast, on which is Amherst. This is still we believe a pilot station; a few fishing-boats however were all the

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craft to be seen opposite what was once intended to be the capital of the Tenasserim Provinces. Intended as a *sanitarium* for our troops during the present war, it has greatly failed in this respect, our men seldom or never having recovered from proceeding thither.

Moulmein from the river presents a striking scene, in some respects highly picturesque and beautiful. A fine range of hills to the rear, with magnificently luxuriant foliage to relieve the eye, white Pagodas here and there, and pleasantly situated dwelling-houses strewed about—on the beach neatly constructed wharfs, and a large handsome custom-house, while the shipping in the roads from many ports gives a pleasing commercial character to the whole. Having just left what will probably soon be its rival—Rangoon—it was impossible not to be struck with the vast difference between the grand port of the Burmese Empire taken by us in the year 1852, and Moulmein, which the British have held for a quarter of a century. Not even the spacious and handsome wharfs—one of them very properly styled after General Godwin—on the superb river frontage; not even an array of shipping in the river far surpassing that at Moulmein; not even the crowds of boats and the signs of busy life everywhere apparent, could divest you of the idea that at Rangoon civilization had only just been born; but the life-blood of Anglo-Saxon enterprise, which has done so much for the world, will yet flow in full vigour there! You face

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about from Moulmein; the eye dwells for a moment on a small island and a magnificent expanse of water; and there is Martiban nearly opposite the famous port—dark, and dreary, and jungly, when compared with it. Nearer and nearer still, and Martaban, to us, gave the idea of a wild country which, save for a line of European barracks and a neat little pier, seemed rather a fit abode for wild beasts than for civilised men. The heights are good, and capable of making an excellent defence. One elevation has the Martaban Pagoda, a black and white construction, inferior in beauty and architecture to any of the small Temples at Rangoon, boasting as usual the golden tee of tinkling bells. To the rear of this is the Hill Pagoda, on a hill some 400 feet high. There is likewise another Temple of note here, styled the White Pagoda. A bell of considerable size, said to be at least 400 or 500 years old, seemed to complete the curiosities of this small region of Gaudama and robbers.

The view from Martaban is beautiful in the extreme. You behold the noble Salween River, and the mouths of the Gyne and Alaren, while all three are lending their charms to the surrounding and distant beauties of mountain and forest scenery.

At noon of Thursday the 6th an alarm was raised on account of one of the European Fusiliers having been carried away by the Burmese. Two of them having proceeded considerably beyond safe limits to the northward, were employed in digging into a

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pagoda, with the usual hope of finding treasure. The Burmese came slyly down upon the diggers, one of whom they caught, while the other got off after a narrow escape of his life. Immediately on his arrival in camp two companies were sent out after the enemy; the men dashed away through the jungle to rescue if possible their captured comrade. The heat of the sun was intense, but happily no accidents occurred from it. After a most diligent and fatiguing search the companies had the mortification to return without the unfortunate Fusilier.

Ascending a small hill to inspect the North Battery, we found it to consist of one 68-pounder from the *Zenobia*, two 9-pounders, one 24-pounder howitzer, one 8-inch iron mortar, and two 5½-brass mortars on iron beds. For the South Battery there were one 24-pounder howitzer, and one 9-pounder gun. For the Hill Stockade, commanding Martaban and the Salween River, one 24-pounder howitzer, two 9-pounders, and two 5½-inch mortars—in all, 14 pieces of ordnance. Looking from the North Battery in the direction where the European was carried off, all is jungly, and hilly, and swampy. From the nature of the country we at once got a clue to the secret of the various attacks made on the place since the storming of Martaban on the 5th of April 1852.* The 68-pounder was laid for one of the bamboo stockades on a hill,—a range of about 1,800 yards.

* For a curious Burmese Document, See Appendix, No. IX.

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All the other guns commanded excellent positions, reflecting great credit on the Artillery Officer in charge. Since the taking of the place scarcely a stick of the town had been erected. Some Karens appeared on one occasion and made an attempt to settle, but quickly disappeared. Desolation seemed to have stamped its image here. One regiment of infantry, relieved every six weeks or two months, also a company of European Artillery, had been the force stationed there for the last nine months. The Artillery had lost 19 men, and the majority of the remainder had been nearly prostrated by fever. The Native Infantry likewise suffered considerably; but these going away more frequently the deaths were not so great in proportion. This will bear out what has been asserted in a former Chapter regarding Martaban as a military station. On the other hand, disagreeing from sentiments elsewhere given by the Author of this Narrative, we heard it expressed here as a decided opinion, that we should not have taken and kept Martaban. With a war-steamer or two stationed before it Moulmein would have been perfectly safe. The grand town of Martaban had become a mere fable; what was the use of attacking a den of thieves? Was it to aid what was intended to be a decided and finishing blow to Burmese insolence, tyranny, and oppression? This all sounded well enough; but then the idea seemed to be omitted from the argument that it would be impolitic and dangerous for many reasons to have such a notori-

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ous portion of territory uncaptured so near Moulmein. It is no bad rule in the world to keep only your friends in sight, your enemies being well away in the distance. Besides, it was clear from our being here now that Martaban must have been taken sometime!

We have read that it had long been considered a place of some note, both in a political and commercial point of view, "where the Burmese armies usually assembled in their frequent wars with the Siamese." Martaban means "Nose of the Rock," "once the capital of a small kingdom inhabited by Taliens, and an old Talien king once had his palace at this place." Talien is considered to be a distinct language from the Burmese. "The old inhabitants of Martaban had worshipped Gaudama a long time, nearly 1000 years it is said, before the Burmese took possession of their cities. The Pagoda was erected many hundred years ago."

The wisdom of a portion of Moulmein and that of the Martaban Land Column having come in contact, it was amusing as well as edifying to listen to the various opinions expressed regarding one of the chief causes of the Second Burmese War. From Moulmein a story came as follows:—No European Regiment* was stationed there—this alone had a decided effect in strengthening the enemy's defiance of our power. A Burmese authority had through some

* There was certainly an European Company of Artillery, in addition to Native Infantry.

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means or other got on board a pilot's boat at Amherst. He asked various questions regarding the number of Europeans there and at Moulmein, but on being suspected of knavery he escaped. And this was at the time when Commodore Lambert went down to Rangoon to make known our demands. The official had then a very slight idea of the extent of our steam-power; but yet from this a useful lesson may be gained—that it is ever highly politic to leave no large town or position of importance in India or the East, especially if near a foreign kingdom or power, without a fair proportion of European soldiery in the garrison. In addition to the faithful and devoted Indian Sepoys, regard for the European soldier in a time of danger, serving under the same Honourable masters, with a European comrade in arms always near him will, if it be at all possible, secure the basis for that increase in the scale of enlightenment and civilisation which it is to be hoped our Native Indian soldiery will sooner or later attain.

Before leaving Martaban it was hardly possible to deny ourselves the pleasure of a visit to Moulmein. Say you start at 8 A.M., in a neat canoe, of good teak and well covered over, you may arrive at the opposite coast about 9 o'clock. You land at a spacious pier, drive down the principal street in a pony carriage, and find the town of Moulmein exceed your expectations. Public buildings, especially the Custom-house, where is also the

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office of the Principal Assistant to the Commissioner —the merchants' houses—the numerous Chinese and Parsee shops—the business-like air of the place—all had a charm for those who had resided so long on the upper terrace of the Great Pagoda at Rangoon. Driving to the arsenal we passed the Moulmein Pagoda, situated some little distance off on a hill 300 or 400 feet in height. Several handsome churches of wood arrested our attention. The arsenal and all the Military Officers' houses are inside the fort. The former, under Captain Showers of the Madras Artillery, was well worthy of a visit; and now on the eve of departure of the Martaban Land Column no small amount of business was being transacted there. The excellent and energetic Conductor, Mr Craig, was too busy while superintending the warlike preparations to tell you more than that during the First Burmese War he had marched with Sir Archibald Campbell to Yandaboo! The capital of the Provinces since the treaty of that name was signed (1826) boasted of its timber trade, its merchants, its missionaries, its general society.

At Moulmein it is probable that the traveller, especially if he be a lover of flowers, will behold the *Amherstia* for the first time, in all its native grace and beauty. It is described by Mason* as the finest indigenous tree in Chin-India. "It is of low stature, with slender pendulous branches clustered under its tufted summit of lively green, and draperied with

* *Natural Productions of Burmah; or Notes on the Fauna, Flora, &c.*

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large pea-blossom shaped flowers of brilliant red and yellow, which hang down from its graceful branches in tassels more than a yard long. It was discovered by Dr Wallich, on the Salween, near Trockla, and named by him after the Governor-General's Lady, " The Noble *Amherstia!*"

The scenery in the vicinity of Moulmein has been thus described:—" On looking abroad from the Pagoda hills of Moulmein an unbroken range of mountains, 4000 or 5000 feet high, are seen on the margin of the eastern horizon, sweeping around to the north-west like an amphitheatre, where they are lost in the misty distance. From Martaban Point another range extends directly north, parallel with the west bank of the Salween. In the space between these mountains, bounded by the Salween on the west, and the Gyne (Gyaing) on the south and east, is an immense alluvial plain, resembling the prairie-lands of Illinois and Missouri." Twenty miles north of Moulmein there is a pile of the most picturesque mountain limestone adorning the landscape, rising " abruptly in the most fantastic shapes."

According to Mason the Salween River is so termed from a tree of that name that grows on its banks. Nothing, however trivial, appears to have escaped the research of the amiable and talented author of the " Fauna, Flora, and Minerals of Burmah."

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CHAPTER XIII.

FROM MARTABAN TO SHOE-GYNE.

It soon became evident that the Column could not leave Martaban much before the middle of the month. Plenty of carriage and necessaries for a campaign, when provided away from the eye of the Commander of the force who is to employ them, are tolerably sure of not being found so plentiful on the arrival of the troops at the place of rendezvous. Notwithstanding an admirable Commissariat and zealous local authorities, there will be something or other deficient at the last hour. In many cases this proceeds from sufficient notice not being given. In the present instance, allowing sufficient intimation to have been given, the resources* of Moulmein and its vicinity for the supply of a small army about to undertake a dangerous and difficult march appear to have been overrated. But the able Commissioner of the Tenas-

* Of these Mr Norris of the Commissariat Department made the most. His energy in procuring supplies, and preparing in many ways for the expedition, deserved the highest praise.

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serim Provinces had managed to bring together a noble array of elephants. The vast utility for the march of these as it were powerful remnants of a gigantic race of creatures which existed in the older world, was beyond all question. It was resolved to take one month's provisions; though the General would have preferred starting with two. As for another month's instalment by the Naval authorities it was hardly deemed expedient to risk the annoyance in the Sitang river. An uncertainty too hung over the navigation of the Salween. Supplies might be sent, but that they would reach in safety could not be guaranteed. In this dilemma General Steel with admirable foresight gave instructions to the Assistant Commissary-General—Major Budd, who had accompanied the Column to Martaban—to return forthwith to Rangoon, get another month's provisions ready, and forward them to Major Hill at Pegu.

The bustle of the Europeans in their barracks, and "lending a hand" everywhere—the picturesque appearance of the native tents on the side of the hill of Martaban—the crossing and re-crossing of boats in the river—even the beautiful scenery around, had become stale and unprofitable in a few days.

At length 120 elephants, 300 carts with bullocks, and a few hundreds of carriage bullocks were transferred from Moulmein. Officers were to make their own arrangements for carriage. On account of the great demand this article in the market had become both scarce and dear, and many a subaltern grumbled,

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not without reason, at having to pay double value for a bad cart and inferior bullocks. Strange enough, although the demand was great ponies did not rise materially in price. Many of us purchased a strong and respectable-looking animal for 70 or 100 rupees, (£10.) The Shan merchants had evidently consulted their interests in having at such a time a stock of ponies at Moulmein.

There was nothing to find fault with about the baggage of the Officers. Some had even been hurried away from Pegu with little more than 24 pounds avoirdupois. These naturally did not expect to be stationed anywhere in the new country. To others a settlement, for sometime at least, "loomed in the distance;" so with them the case was very different. A pair of bullocks and a *garie* was, supposing the tents elsewhere, just carriage sufficient for two Officers; and we doubt whether, under the circumstances, Sir Charles Napier would have made us take less.

It was the opinion we believe of Colonel Williams, commanding Moulmein, that there would be little or no opposition until we reached Shoé-Gyne. This Officer had served in that quarter during the First Burmese War. From Moulmein the Column was strengthened by the Rifle companies of the 1st, 26th, and 49th Regiments of Madras Native Infantry under Major Forster. A party of Talain Mounted Police, consisting of one jemadar, one havildar, and 31 sowars, was added to the force by Colonel Bogle, the Commissioner. The Column now consisted of about

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2,100 men, with numerous followers. In the force was included the company of Madras European Artillery* under Lieutenant Purvis, which had for so many months been stationed at Martaban. Colonel Poole, 5th M. N. I., was appointed to act as a Brigadier, and to command the Line of Infantry.

The Artillery under Colonel Anstruther, C. B., consisted of four 24-pounder howitzers, and four 5½-inch mortars. We had also rocket-tubes for throwing what the Burmese are pleased to style "devil-sticks," a peculiarly useful missile for the sort of warfare we expected to be engaged in, creating a terror only inferior to that inspired by the voice and effects of a large well-pointed howitzer.

The Bengal Fusiliers were under Major Gerrard; the Madras under Captain Geils. Major Welchman commanded the 10th Bengal, and Major Shubrick the 5th Madras Native Infantry. The Ramghur Irregular Cavalry, 50 sowars, were under Lieutenant Lambert, and the Madras Sappers, some 70 strong, were under Lieutenant Vincent Shortland.

A word or two on the General's Staff before we march. Major Neil was Assistant Adjutant-General to the Column. Captain Dallas,† an extra Aide-de-Camp, was the Assistant Quartermaster-General, in

* A Company, 2d Battalion. The Author had charge of the D Company, 3d Battalion, with which he had come from Rangoon.

† The embarkation of the Column at Rangoon, which was superintended by this Officer, was remarkable for the facility and order with which it was accomplished.

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which department Captains Clogstoun and Maxwell were also employed. Captain Travers, Aide-de-Camp, and Major Bayly, whose services as Judge Advocate-General had been placed at the disposal of Brigadier-General Steel, were the others of as efficient a Staff as could well have been brought into the field.

On Monday the 10th we ascertained that the remains of the poor Fusilier who had been captured by the Burmese had fallen into the hands of one of our grass-cutters. His head, legs, and arms, had been cut off; he was brought into camp this morning and buried. After this and similar acts of cruelty elsewhere it was hopeless to expect that the enemy would receive any mercy from our European soldiery.

Before leaving Martaban it was pleasant to find an opportunity for a few minutes conversation with Commodore Lynch of the Indian Navy. We found this highly talented and experienced Officer seated in a chair on the banks of the Salween, his splendid Steam Frigate, the *Feroze*, reposing on the waters opposite Moulmein. He had had frequent but unsatisfactory boat expeditions against the foe, in which they had invariably escaped him. But he thought when we left they would come back to the old quarters when he might be able to get at them. It was the Commodore's opinion that we would meet with no resistance at the strongholds, but would receive considerable annoyance from harassments in our rear. The great navigator of the Euphrates seemed to be in want of something to do. We believe he

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had finished a survey of a considerable portion of the Salween.

On the 12th a reconnoitring party, headed by the General, rode out a few miles to the west.

At six o'clock in the morning of Friday the 14th the Column marched out of Martaban by the Beling gate. Owing to the want of space for such a multitude of people, carts, and cattle, the confusion was of no ordinary description. Many an eye was turned towards our Chief, as with his Staff he forced his way to the front through the dense crowd. The advance was composed of 75 men from each of the European Corps of Fusiliers; one Company of the 10th B. N. I.; one Company of the 5th M. N. I.; then came two 24-pounder howitzers and a rocket-tube, followed by the Irregular Cavalry.* The Sappers of course accompanied the advance. For the first two miles the road through the jungle was good. Nearing Kyouk-yé-dwing (*i. e.* stone-water well) the jungle became denser and marching more difficult through the long grass. On arriving at this place, nearly four miles from Martaban, we found that a portion of the enemy had stockaded themselves on the top of a hill, and also in a village at the foot of another. From their commanding position they opened fire upon our advanced guard the instant it entered the plain, and

* The remainder of the Column was generally formed up in the following order; right or left in front—four deep—Madras and Bengal Fusiliers; 10th B. N. I.; Artillery; 5th B. N. I.; the Moulmein Detachment.

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from their jungly recess kept up a heavy cannonade, followed by rapid vollies of musketry. But all this noise and waste of powder on their part seemed rather intended to frighten than to destroy us, as certainly but few of their round shot and jingal balls were to be seen or heard. The impression of opposition however throughout the march became general, and was hailed by the Column with intense satisfaction. At length forcing their way through a difficult piece of forest, two howitzers under Lieutenant Purvis emerged on the plain. With these, and a rocket-tube under Second Lieutenant Onslow, Colonel Anstruther commenced practice. From the howitzers, shells and spherical case shot were sent with excellent effect into a breastwork on the right. The rockets likewise indulged their destructive propensities with precision, and assisted in clearing the jungly stronghold. Hearing firing in front, of course the main body of the Column pushed on, but the howitzers of the other Artillery Company were only in time for a few rounds, which assisted in covering the storming party—from the Fusiliers, the 10th and the 5th M. N. I.—while advancing on the enemy's position. On reaching the principal work, shortly after the party, the General found it empty. Some five or six palmyra guns* made from the tree of that name, and strongly bound with iron, also a few jingals, were found in the

* Not unacquainted with the nature of iron and brass ordnance, here is perhaps intentionally the destroyer destroyed, for these palmyra guns generally burst on the first discharge.

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hill fort. The dull heavy sound we had at first heard was now accounted for. No sharp whistling sound of the jingal ball came past our ears to remind us of the taking of the Shoé-Dagoon Pagoda; no dropping of a brave fellow on our side here and there; but there might have been considerable loss had not the General shewn his wisdom in first thoroughly using the Artillery. Although belonging to that arm there is no vanity in asserting, as the Staff remarked, that the Artillery had carried on "a most destructive and admirably directed fire." So much then for the first brief act of the Martaban Column,—the affair of Kyouk-yé-dwing! The village was set on fire the same day, it is supposed by the camp-followers. The General in next day's orders very properly condemned this piece of wanton mischief, and called upon all to desist from destroying grain or other property, and to assist in aiding friendly Burmese. Decision and conciliation ever form the most effective policy in the conquest of a country where there is a peace as well as a war party.

We were encamped for some days on a spacious midan (plain) facing the hill of destruction, as no doubt the Burmese thought it, during which time news arrived that there had been a second investment of Pegu (January 6th) in which Captain Nicolay of the Madras Fusiliers had been killed. This gallant Officer was shot while proceeding to relieve a picquet in the morning. Intelligence likewise reached us of the desertion of Euthāy-Mew by the enemy, to the

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extreme annoyance of General Godwin; there was also a revolution at Ava! All this was interesting enough to troops marching northward.

On the morning of the 18th we left Kyouk-yé-dwing for Gongoh. Here we expected to find in some force Moung-Bho, (or Moung-Beon,) the reputed daring ex-Governor of Martaban. Although only seven or eight miles, the march was not without its share of excitement and adventure. Long grass and ruined paddy and swamps—the latter occasionally rendering the country almost impassable for weak and distressed cattle—formed our pathway while we kept near the jungly base of a superb range of hills, a spacious midan extending away to our left and rear. We had only proceeded two miles when the enemy from a small outpost commenced firing on our advanced guard. The report of a signal gun had prepared us for this piece of audacity on their part; but after a rapid and useless discharge of musketry they fled to a larger work considerably beyond, which commanded our approach by the rough road. There they again fired on our advance, which our soldiers returned. This position was also evacuated, the Burmese leaving behind them a large palmyra gun well loaded, with a slow match attached. On the advance passing this infernal machine it went off, nearly cutting a Bengal Fusilier in two, and missing by a very few inches several officers and soldiers. Leaving the fine young European who had met with so instantaneous a death to be decently interred, we

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SKETCH OF AFFAIR BE

by the

Brig[r] Gen[l]

Drawn by Alex

A.A. Village of Gongah. The

B Artillery under Lieut. Col. A

4, 24 P[r] Howitzers & 7 Rock[t] Stockaded Breastworks at A.A.

C Point of Advance of Scar

7 C[o] Sappers & Miners.

7 C[o] B. Fusiliers

7 C[o] M. D[o]

7 C[o] 5 M.N. Infantry.

7 C[o] 10 B.N. Infantry.

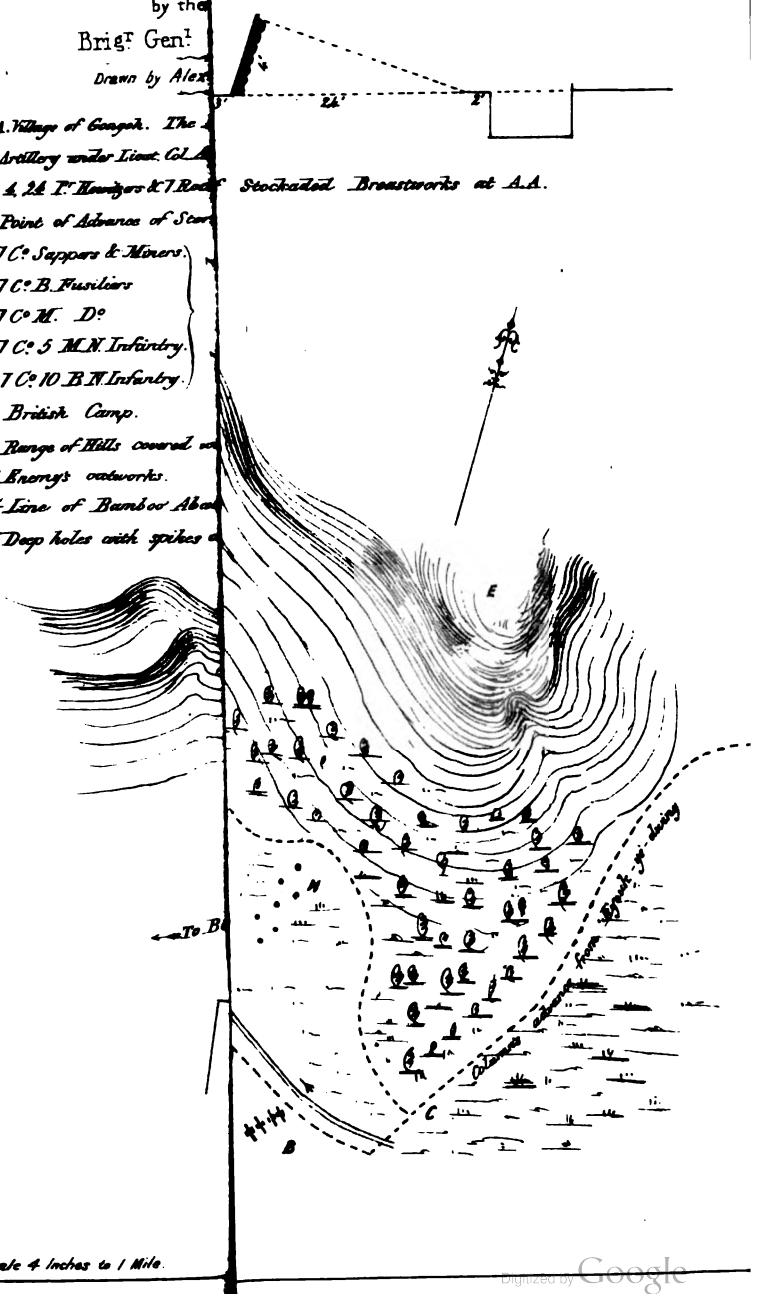
D British Camp.

E Range of Hills covered w

F Enemy's outworks.

G Line of Bamboo Abat

H Deep holes with spikes



Scale 4 Inches to 1 Mile.

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passed on, each with his own idea of the foe we had to contend against. On an examination of this position by the General and Staff, it was found to consist of a deep and well-dug breastwork carried round the front and flanks. Abattis helped to protect the post, the rear of which led into dense forest jungle. Bamboo spikes concealed in small pits were likewise numerous in its vicinity, from which one of the General's horses received a severe wound. Marching on for a few miles over terrible ground for guns, the advance howitzers * fell considerably behind. The eager troops in front of course thought the artillery would be up, and so it would have been in excellent time, had only four good strong horses instead of six bullocks been attached to each of the 24-pounder howitzers.† The occasional obstinacy of the long-horned Mysore bullock —a noble animal to look upon—is perfectly indescribable. Even the great patriarch, with all his patience, had he been in the army could never have stood it. Hamlet thunders forth against the "periwig-pated fellow" who tears "a passion to tatters," and declares that "it out-herods Herod." The Artillery Officer may well say of the Mysore

* On this occasion the D Company, 3d Battalion, Madras Artillery.

† In the Madras Artillery there are six Troops of Horse Artillery and only two Horse Field Batteries. An increase of the latter, in our humble opinion, would be highly beneficial to the Service, reserving bullocks for drawing the waggons and for garrison purposes.

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bullock when there is an ardent wish to get quickly into action—that it out-jobs Job!

But at Gongoh, as in many other positions in life, it was highly necessary that a man should keep his temper. While busily engaged in pushing our teams along, the not far distant but "random-guns" assured us that the foe "were sullenly firing." The metal seemed heavy; but the hills doubtless exaggerated the report. The enemy had commenced firing round shot at the advance and the General's party; the report came from beyond a corner of the hill and jungle which stretched out on the midan. This was opposite Gongoh. It was evident that they had two or three good iron and brass guns in their possession. An officer of the Staff said that at first "two or three shot passed over head, but the range was soon found, and at last it fell among us, striking close to our horses, cutting up the ground just in front, and ricocheting close to us;" one or two bounded past the Artillery as they passed on to take up a position. At length two howitzers and a rocket-tube were brought into action at ranges of 800 and 1,000 yards. The fire was kept up by us for a considerable time, spherical case and shell lodging just before or beside the enemy's position. The "devil-sticks" likewise carried their destructive power into the jungly stronghold. Here, as well as at Kyouk-yé-dwing, it was evident that without the aid of artillery there would have been considerable loss to the attacking

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party. After 20 or 30 rounds we could plainly see the Burmese decamping with the greatest possible speed. Two more howitzers came up eventually and made some good practice. The Artillery gunners worked right well; and what was better, they seemed to understand their work.

On reading the following passage lately in one of our popular Magazines it struck us that the writer was not too severe on the practice of the Royal Artillery at a time when first-rate practical artillerists, above all other men-of-war, are so desirable in England; but from the number set down he would hardly impress the general reader with an idea of the destructive power of the shrapnell shell. The passage alluded to is:—"The gunner's means of defence consist in the accuracy of his fire, and if *twenty* rifles are pointed at his gun he can return it with some *twenty* bullets from a shrapnell shell; and there is no reason why, if a rifleman can pick him off at his gun, he cannot pick off the rifleman. Yet there is one, and that is that from want of practice he does not know how to calculate his distances and fire his shell with precision." It may be necessary to remind unmilitary readers—the Militia until they are fully trained included—that the shrapnell shell, the immortal invention of a Royal Artillery officer, commencing with a 6-pounder brass gun, contains 27 musket balls; a 9-pounder 41; a 24-pounder howitzer shrapnell shell contains 130 musket balls; and an 8-inch iron, the large number of 377! From 12

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to 1500 yards the spherical case, so destructive against bodies of infantry and cavalry, can be fired with effect. The shell is caused to explode at the required distance by means of a fuze, in the same manner as a common shell, "when the small leaden balls and the splinters of the shell continue their flight and complete the curve in which the shell was proceeding at the time of its explosion." * No apology need be made for leaving Gongoh to make these few remarks at a time when foreign inventions — doubtless ingenious to an extraordinary degree—are too apt to occupy that share of public attention which should be given to artillery.

The storming party, under Major Seton of the Bengal Fusiliers, found the position vacated, much of course to their vexation. The loss of the enemy at Gongoh was declared to be from 80 to 100. It was found that they had thrown a number of their dead into a deep pit, while the others had been carried away with their usual dexterity. The General passed on to a position immediately on the other side of the village of Gongoh. The whole force under Brigadier Poole soon followed, accompanied by a tremendous line of followers and elephants. Passing the Burmese defences we entered the jungle, and after some difficulties—soon cleared away by the indefatigable Sappers—we came to a neat village with comfortable but deserted houses, grain in

* Oakes's *Young Artillery Officer's Assistant.*

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baskets lying here and there, and a few flimsy pagodas; here the water was of a peculiarly excellent quality. We still passed on through jungle and came at length to another village—Gongoh proper—where a delicious rivulet of pure sweet water refreshed the weary troops. It was now about 3 P. M., so we had been upwards of seven hours under a terrific sun. An encamping ground was joyfully hailed on a spacious midan near Gongoh, with beautiful hills, covered with green jungle, frowning as it were on the busy and weary throng below. We discovered that the Burmese had driven the Karens out of their village; these probably had gone to take refuge in the adjacent mountain fastnesses. Some specimens of this energetic race* were expected soon to be in camp, as well as many Talains or Peguese. They would all come in good time. It was said here that the Karens had even plundered the Peguese to procure powder and shot for the destruction of their hated enemies of Ava, and the truth of the assertion is highly probable.

On the 21st the Column moved on to Ouchtada, a distance of eight miles. For some time our route lay through jungle and swamp. As our advance approached a few shots were fired, and our Irregular Cavalry pushing on a-head captured one unfortunate Burmese. A slight wound he had

* For some account of the Karens, or Kareens, or Carinnes, —written in these three ways—see Appendix, No. X.

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received was immediately attended to by the humane faculty, and he was soon as well as ever. There was nothing—save a *henza* on a pole—to mark the site of the village of Ouchtada. At this position the hills in our front rose abruptly to a height of not less than 3,000 feet; these appeared to be covered with fine trees. To our rear plains extended in one unbroken level of fertile land to the sea-shore. The day before our march from this romantic spot some Karens came in. These were received kindly by the General and supplied with copies of the Governor-General's Proclamation, a large supply of which in the Burmese language had of course come along with the Column; they then returned satisfied to their native hills and villages.

On the 22d supplies were brought into camp by these very people, who were shortly followed by 900 men, women and children, the inhabitants of Gongoh and the neighbouring villages. Their respective heads repaired to the General's tent, and joyfully listened to the assurance he gave them of the protection and friendship of the British Indian Government towards them. They were told to live peacefully in their villages, and defend themselves against the attacks of dacoits while we cleared the country from the presence of the enemy in front.

On the 23d the force marched to Yen-gyike, a short march of between four and five miles. Yet as a passage for the troops had to be cut through a dense jungle, which service was efficiently per-

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formed by the Sappers, there was work sufficient for a day. The two elephants attached to the guns also gave considerable assistance; these noble animals pulled down branches and removed logs and huge trees as if they had been nine-pins. Arriving on the plain the scenery became picturesque and beautiful. We encamped opposite a superb hill surmounted by a lofty white pagoda, surrounded by several smaller shrines for the worship of Gaudama. An Armenian who had been a prisoner among the Burmese for eight or nine months came in, was examined, and gave some important information.

The Column marched to Zenghyen on the 24th, a distance of seven miles, where we found 12 palmyra guns. Towards the end of this march it was necessary to cross a creek of considerable width. On approaching this difficulty a few rounds were fired at us, but on coming up the large village or town was found to be vacated by the enemy, who it was supposed were in the surrounding jungle, but on skirmishers being sent out not one was to be seen. To cross the creek was a piece of work for the guns and waggons. The elephants assisted the guns across; without them the bullocks would have stuck for ever, as the mud, it being low tide, was nearly up to the axle-trees. Gazing on this powerful creature, with trunk coiled up like a shell, pushing through the mud the huge howitzer, carriage, bullocks, drivers and all, and

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doing the work with such apparent goodwill, *—observing also its wonderful sagacity as on a slight warning from the mahout he increased or diminished his propelling power, it was impossible not to admire in an enthusiastic degree this perfection of animal conduct. Through the exertions of the Field Engineer, and Lieutenants Shortland and Farquhar with their Sappers, a bridge of Burmese canoes was constructed for the passage of our small army across the creek. Bundles of straw were found ready at hand; and so a bridge was soon constructed, over which a Napoleon or a Wellington would have crossed with delight. Some magnificent specimens of teak timber were lying about. Several Talains came into our camp and stated that the Governor of Martaban, and Mya-bea-Bo the chief who had resisted us at Gongoh, were at Thatoung with their families, and about 2,000 men.

On the 25th we arrived at Thatoung after a march of 11 miles. Here the General made an attempt to intercept the garrison; and for this purpose sent some infantry, riflemen, and a party of horse to make a detour to our right and cut off their escape should they take, as we thought most

* But this is not always the case; occasionally His Hugeness gets sulky or the mahout gets stupid, when the poor artilleryman has a chance of beholding his gun or waggon overturned in the mud or water. The elephant's trunk, in the form of a shell, or say a coil of rope, is placed at the muzzle of the gun, while the huge tusks act with their powerful leverage on the carriage; so much care is required.

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probable, the Beling road. But the party returned without having effected this very desirable object. It was afterwards affirmed that the enemy had left Thatoung just before we arrived. In the evening a petition was received by the General from the head man in this part of the country, begging to be allowed to come into camp and tender his allegiance. He was a man of some rank, judging from his golden umbrella; and arrived with about 40 carts filled with women and children, the inhabitants of Thatoung and the surrounding villages. He immediately sent orders to all the people around, who had taken refuge in the hills and forests, to return to their homes. Proclamations were distributed, and numbers came in from all quarters. Thatoung struck us as being a large and important Burmese town. The woodland scenery, and the pagodas, and the brick walls, also the spacious streets and neat houses, gave an imposing appearance to the jungle fortress. As we approached the heavy firing of guns gave us some idea of having here a brush with the enemy, but as we have already said nothing was done.

The force arrived at Kyike-ko on the 26th, after a march of upwards of 11 miles, through a beautiful piece of country. Leaving the hills for a short time we came upon a magnificent midan, where appeared to be everything adapted for cultivation;—herds of buffaloes were to be seen on the vast plain, also in the distance the poor villagers streaming along, with

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their families snug on the buffalo garies (carts), to take possession of the villages we had cleared. This was indeed a gladdening sight for the hearts of Englishmen. As we passed, a number of people came boldly out from the jungle, white flag in hand, and sat down by the roadside gazing on the soldiers of the Column. In this march an idle buffalo of huge dimensions charged right through the infantry, which caused considerable amusement, the soldiers opening out as it advanced at full speed, when it disappeared in the forest.

Our Column must have presented a very curious and pleasing appearance to our Burmese allies, as it no doubt did to many a careful observer in the force. Much of the oriental picturesque hung over the Ramghur Irregular Cavalry,—the green dress and red pugarie (turband), the motley trappings also on the charger, and the trooper himself sitting like a noble and fearless fellow with spear in hand or matchlock slung across his shoulders, presented a very good specimen of the Eastern mounted soldier. Then there were the "Moulmeiners" on their ponies, some with enormous hats—wearing which some of our London Magistrates would have denounced as being very culpable in mounted police—as if they intended to put the girdle of their authority round the country; some with a spear, others with a dāh, all very active and zealous in the cause of their just and liberal masters —the East India Company!

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At Kyike-ko a deputation came in from Beling bearing a petition signed by 20 chiefs. The petition, which stated that they had received the Proclamation of the Governor-General annexing Pegu, and that agreeably to its purport they submitted to our Government, was received by General Steel with mixed feelings of satisfaction. The petitioners begged to be allowed to remain peaceably in their villages. They unconditionally surrendered up Beling and all that it contained, and stated further that they would hoist a white flag, to be seen as the force approached the stockade, and that all the principal persons would come out to meet the General.

On the 27th we encamped near Beling Creek. This was a very fatiguing march of nearly 14 miles, and one which tried the metal of not a few of us considerably. At first through a beautiful piece of country, with superb hills on our right; then we entered a dense jungle through which we ploughed our way for four or five miles, and had there been any opposition here the business might have been serious; however, as affairs were well managed, the Column was ready for the enemy in any numbers and under any circumstances. The sun was at a deadly heat; nature seemed as if about to be burned up. To some more exhausted than others it appeared as if the jungle would never end. The picturesque trees—their charms amidst the dense heat bursting forth into full beauty—the orange, the guava,

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and the lilac tree *—what were these in comparison with the hope of soon beholding an encamping ground and some good clear water? It came at last. There was Beling creek before us—altogether a piece of enchanting scenery! There too was the white flag on the tree, the sight of which dispelled our hopes of having a fight; and soon were to be seen the troops, followers, bullocks, elephants and horses, either refreshing themselves in, or standing beside the noble water near which the Column had for the day encamped. The scene at the creek would have afforded an admirable subject for Landseer!

On the 28th the force crossed over to Beling. Before leaving the creek, which is some little distance from the town, it may be remarked that the depth where we crossed at low water is three feet, and at high water four feet six inches. There are we suppose two separate creeks, not one, as represented in some maps; one of these, the chief from the Salween River, not reaching within 12 or 14 miles of Beling. On our entry into the place the chiefs came out and delivered themselves up as promised. We encamped opposite the great stockade. It was a beautiful position—forest scenery around, with some fine hills in the distance. We found the stockade to be of considerable extent, rectangular, and extending nearly a mile on a side; but the work was very low and sadly destitute of strength.

* Not the lilac tree of England; but like it in the flower.

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The strong principles adopted at Rangoon seemed never to have been known here; yet had it been well defended the capture of it would have cost a few lives. Inside this extensive work stood the town of Beling. Some straight and spacious streets, picturesque houses, numerous dogs, and a few inhabitants, arrested the attention immediately on our entering through one of the gates of the stockade. The Governor had left a week before our arrival; some of us entered his house, a wooden dwelling, as usual, with bamboo floor, all well made and of good material, roomy enough to have held any number of members for a secret council. As we passed along a few Chinese were observable in the bazaar; some of them had opened a shop already as a proof of confidence in a European customer! The Burmese, who now enjoyed our protection, looked with anxious eye at the new-comers and the artillery party who had been sent to calculate the quantity of ordnance and ammunition in the arsenal. * The old women looked very suspicious about our doings—not a smile on any one ancient female countenance; while the men were lazy and unwilling to assist in carrying a gun

* Found in the work and Magazine at Beling:—

Iron Guns,	9
Jingals,	24
Arms, old and new,	500
Shots of sizes,	7,000
Gunpowder, lbs.	900

besides two boxes of Sulphur, two of Saltpetre, and numerous pigs of Lead.

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or two to the gate of the stockade. One more willing than the others was thus busily employed when an old dame—Otway's "hag" in appearance a perfect goddess to her—came out from her dwelling and implored us not to take away her son!

Beling was for many years the principal residence of the Governor of Martaban. It likewise served the purpose of an arsenal for the troops of Southern Burmah, and was doubtless the place of congress for the concerting of all desperate plans of dacoity or murder.

Intelligence reached us on the 28th that Commodore Lynch had proceeded in the *Medusa* steamer to destroy a stockade some 10 or 12 miles up the Beling Creek, but had returned to Moulmein on the 24th, having found that the boats of his frigate,—the *Feroze*,—under Lieutenant Price, had anticipated him, and completed the destruction of the work. In the stockade they found one 3-pounder gun, 20 Burmese muskets, and numerous dāhs and spears. The *Proserpine* steamer was shortly to try and make her way up the Sitang.

At the northern extremity of the Beling stockade some handsome kioungs—mansions for one or more Poonghees—were visible. Proceeding outside the fort we discovered that they belonged to a Poonghee village of considerable neatness and extent. Here were the fathers of the yellow robe wandering slowly and silently about, who did not in any way object to our minute survey of their religious settlement. In

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one of the principal kioungs we beheld a grand show of Gaudamaic finery. A noble Poonghee who had come from Ava had died at Beling, where he was now lying in state in all the gorgeous display of "barbaric" pomp. His bier or coffin, raised on high, and richly gilt, stood on an elaborately-wrought pedestal, the whole surmounted by large white umbrellas, and by muslin draped with considerable taste. On all sides there were lines of Chinese-like pictures, with all the fantastic mummeries of superstition depicted thereon. The dead Poonghee, who lay quietly taking his supreme rest in the best of honey, was surrounded by some really good paintings, the subjects of which wholly defy description. Thus had he lain for four months, and would lie they said for eight more—he being a very great man! After this stately repose he would be taken out with great show, amidst the firing of guns and every kind of display pertaining to the Burmese pyrotechnic art; combustible matter would then be placed beside the corpse, and from some distance people from many villages would fire their rude rockets and endeavour to set the "saint" on fire. The successful rocket is regarded as a "winged messenger" to tell the multitude that the soul of the deceased has gone to heaven!

On the 30th the Column reached Kokado, a very dusty and unpleasant march of about eight miles. Burmese were to be seen in numbers on the way, either with their garies in motion, or quite

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secure in their small villages. Nearing the banks of the river the people seemed interested and curious, and above all glad to have us as protectors. Kokado appeared to be a village of considerable size.

Pursuing our route, we arrived on the 31st at Kyikehto, a long morning's or rather half-day's work of 14 miles; but it was on the whole a pleasant march, through a highly picturesque country. As the force passed along, at every small hamlet bearing its white flag, the few inhabitants seemed satisfied; and at the various villages where water was procurable women and men had arranged chatties * full for the soldiers. This was a luxury on the march which they seldom got even during the peaceful times in India. On reaching the skirts of Kyikehto a crowd of people were to be seen on a vast plain, from which one of the Burmese more enthusiastic than the rest stepped forth and danced about to the amusement of all. Guards were left at several diminutive pagodas. The small temple on a rock, with its plantain-tree, and now also with its dark red-coated Sepoy sentry, was a sketch worthy of the artist's attention!

On the 1st of February the force reached Kyiek-ka-tha, a distance of nearly 11 miles. Before arriving at this village we came to a magnificent creek or river, which we forded with some trouble. Passing by small villages with flags of truce as usual, we came, towards the end of this march,

* Neat earthen pots.

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upon a huge solitary Gaudama seated in the jungle. The enormous image, which once had a house but was now roofless, seemed also, judging from its highly benevolent countenance, to be of opinion that peace and industry and freedom from oppression were the sovereign remedies for Burmah! Here a deputation came in from the Governor of Sitang. Woman in this instance was "your only peace-maker," for it was his wife who came! The bullock carriage for this occasion was of a rather superior description. Two women were seated in the rear, canopied by a flag of truce, while a Burmese driver occupied the usual seat in front. Perhaps no deputation ever presented more assurance than this. Moung Goung, who commanded at Sitang, had long been in arms against us; he would be so no more. The wife departed leaving the petition from her husband.

On the 2d Moung Goung came into camp. The General told him that he had his liberty. We believe he expressed a wish to remain eventually at Sitang. At present it appeared to be his intention to accompany the Column, to which there could be no serious objections, since the chief might make himself useful in a variety of ways.

On the 3d, after a march of seven miles, wound up by crossing a most difficult creek, the force arrived at Sitang. We came partly through midan, partly through jungly forest, in which were some noble trees. Up hill and down dale was the order of this march. At length emerging from the jungle

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there lay the important town of Sitang in a valley, presenting a varied and striking landscape!

The Sitang river was quite near us—here upwards of 700 yards wide. On crossing the creek a fine view of the Pagoda and fortress, on an eminence, arrested the eye. The *teé* of the temple had fallen to one side, emblematic perhaps of the departing glory of the place. The Column encamped on a spacious midan. A communication was received from Major Hill at Pegu, stating that he had one month's provisions for our force ready to be despatched to meet us at a village on the right bank of the Sitang river called Meekyo, this being the place to which the best road from Pegu to Shoé-Gyne leads. Now we had only eight days' provisions in camp; and in consequence of the unsettled state of the inhabitants little was to be procured in or about the villages. On the 3d also a letter was received by Moung Goung from Moung Byoung, the Governor of Shoé-Gyne. A boatman brought it by the river. The contents of this letter were said to be to the effect that Moung Goung was to use his utmost exertions to delay our advance for a month or two; but that if this could not be effected he was quite prepared to receive us in a hostile manner. Moung Goung very wisely handed over the letter to the General, with the man who brought it.

On the 4th a party of us took a ramble over Sitang. Crossing the creek in a canoe we proceeded up the principal street, leading in a straight

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line to the Pagoda; as usual with their streets a brick pathway in the centre, plenty of space, and houses tolerably neat in appearance. Ascending a narrow flight of ruinous steps, long, uncovered, and walled on each side, we reached an eminence on which was some fine jungle, many "sawmy" houses, also the old Pagoda of Sitang. The base of this structure consisted of a solid brick mass—a hexagon, about 50 feet of a side—with two or three small terraces around. From the centre of this rose the Pagoda to the insignificant height of some 70 feet; in fact, except for its prominent position, this temple would hardly be worthy of notice. Proceeding about 70 or 80 yards beyond the Pagoda we arrived at the bank of the river, commanding a fine view of the Sitang as it flowed in its quiet majesty along. Here one might almost say the bank is a vast steep, from which guns, well planted, might sweep the river with terrible effect. On the other side of the water no hills were to be seen, nothing but rice country, varied by picturesque prairie lands. We observed in one of the shrines a representation of Gaudama's foot, well done in red stone. Large idols as usual were seated about, some with black, others with yellow robes—their attendants kneeling beside them with apparent earnestness. There were also numerous figures of nats (fairies). But as regards the religion of Gaudama it struck us—unless the priests revive it under our rule—Sitang may say "The glory has departed!" Poonghees did not

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seem numerous. Dacoits from time immemorial had probably made the place their own. During the last war it made a vigorous defence, in which a British force under Colonel Conry was driven back. Colonel (or Brigadier) Pepper, on leaving Pegu, came to Meekyo, and thence to Shoé-Gyne. The latter he entered without opposition* on the 3d of January 1826. The Brigadier detached Colonel Conry with a party to take Sitang. The result was, the Colonel and several officers were killed, and the expedition signally failed in its object. At length another force was sent, and after some loss in officers and men the place gave in. A young Subaltern of the name of Clark made about the same time a gallant defence of Meekyo, a most important point.

Moung-Kyouk-Loung, the Queen's brother-in-law, —who with our friend Moung Goung had been the principal instruments in besieging Pegu—it was now said had gone to the "Sawmy" country. It was not easy for us to divine what particular country this was. It might be Siam—it might be the Shan States! Among the independent people of the latter the boasted General of Shoé-Gyne had perhaps gone to beat up troops! The *Medusa* had gone up the Salween to protect commissariat-boats bringing provisions to Beling. The *Proserpine* had also set forth on her voyage of discovery up the Sitang river.

* Put down in the Plans as "taken by the Madras troops under Brigadier Pepper."

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Before leaving the important town of Sitang it may be remarked that we found the population of the place extremely scanty. Many had not left it; and we fear that the population of this district, and that of others we had passed through, has been much exaggerated. In fact it may be questioned whether Pegu—larger in extent than Scotland—has three millions of inhabitants.

On the 5th the Column marched to Toung-zayat, not four miles distant. But yet although so brief it was a very difficult business for the commissariat carts and the guns. However this of course was a matter of little consequence; the reason of our not proceeding further was want of water, the town with this beverage in a convenient position being some 15 miles beyond. In the jungle near where we were encamped, close to the Sitang river, were sombre jungle sheep, and in the opinion of some even rhinoceros. Teal and other small game were being knocked over during the day by the younger sportsmen of the force. At this time boats could easily proceed from Sitang to Shoé-Gyne, and as we found eventually to Tonghoo. Gazing on the Sitang, it was pleasing to entertain the hope of seeing one day a fleet of small steamers running to and fro upon it. Then would the noble Irrawaddy also be covered with British steamers, and there might be electric telegraphs in the country all busy at work, and printing presses in the principal towns of our Pegu dominions; and there might be nume-

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rous weekly and daily journals, with excellent editors, and other men of science and literature, who would not dream only of progress, but act, and shed the light of knowledge over a fertile and happy land! And if such a consummation should be eventually accomplished, how amusing it will be to turn back to the day when before the annexation of Pegu a Noble Lord said in the British Senate that "it would be the last proof of political insanity to pass beyond our present territorial limits in Burmah." The act, forced as it was on the Indian Government, will then at least have some show of reason with all this progress!

On the 7th the force arrived at Nyoun-ky-douk after a march of nearly 15 miles. Three miles south of this town was Meekyo, and we were now about 31 miles from Pegu. At the former place it was expected we should find the provisions which had been forwarded by Major Hill, and fortunately we were not disappointed. A string of upwards of 180 carts had been escorted to Meekyo by a detachment of Fusiliers, 19th M. N. I., and Sappers, under the command of Captain Stephenson. Two Officers who went to bring up the provisions observed a raft on the river with three dead Burmese on it, supposed to have been the victims of Moung-Kyouk-Loung's vengeance on his receiving intelligence of the first dispersion of his army by the British from the city of Pegu. Numerous boats had been procured at Nyoun-ky-douk by order of Moung Goung. His was a phy-

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siognomy that would have puzzled Lavater himself. He had deep lines in his face, and seemed active and intelligent; but there was something restless about the eye of the late Governor of Sitang, and he appeared to be quite indifferent about receiving any sort of consideration from the Column, as, on his humble pony, and with his small band of followers —some two or three men—he plodded his way along!

By the evening half the quantity of Commissariat stores were landed, the remainder came in on the following day. On the 8th and 9th the force halted. About 130 sick were now sent away, nearly all natives. They would return with the detachment which had come with provisions for Pegu. One Fusilier died on the 9th; two had been drowned; which, with one shot, were the total casualties hitherto among the Europeans of the force.

The General despatched from this place by water all ammunition in excess of 100 rounds per man, exclusive of what each man carried in his pouch, being more than half the total supply. He also despatched three boat-loads of rice to Shoé-Gyne. At Sitang he had hoped to find the navy boats but was disappointed. No doubt the Bore had deterred them.

It was now asserted that Martaban was to be given up as a station for British regular troops, and was to be defended by a company of the old Talain Corps—the only one remaining we believe of that efficient body which had done good service in the days of the unfortunate Impey.

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Before leaving Nyoun-ky-douk we visited the busy scene on the Sitang where the General and a portion of the troops were encamped. Taking a short ride through the village, and along the side of the river, it was impossible not to be struck with the beautiful prospect. The clear light blue water—the rugged and steep banks—the small craft floating here and there—the numerous fruit-trees growing in luxuriance in the gardens attached to the houses on the river-side—plantains—sugar-cane, and even rose-trees, reminding one of Old England—all had an appearance of comfort and cleanliness quite in keeping with the magnificent scene. A few women were to be seen in the houses, surrounded by some chubby children—the former engaged in the domestic occupation of pounding rice, which they did with a seeming philosophical composure!

On the 10th the Column moved to Dounsereet, a distance of nearly 11 miles. This was a beautiful march; for a considerable distance along the banks of the Sitang River, a complete view of which we occasionally beheld on emerging from the jungle. Here were trees and flowers of every hue, as if Flora had exhausted her beauties in Burmah; sometimes the foliage all around would be seen covered with scarlet and amber-coloured tints, then a sudden change to some other shade, equally pleasing to the eye. In this route there was a good deal of long grass where one might suppose the tiger crouched occasionally. Some superb

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Poonghee houses were to be met with, situated in high positions. We encamped near the village, and beguiled an afternoon to watch the many elephants bathing in the Sitang; the mahout causing his animal to disappear bodily, and then to rise suddenly, like a black mountain from the water, was a sight not often seen, even in India. The *Proserpine* had failed to make her way up the Sitang, and was nearly—so rumour said—swamped by the Bore.

To Shway-Gheen or Shoé-Gyne, the distance is 11½ miles.* "This important city," writes an Officer of the force, "is situated on the left bank of the Sitang, in an angle formed by a small branch of the river jutting out to the east. The town itself has no defences; it possesses a considerable number of houses, and must have been very populous. When we entered the place there were a great many people, but the approach of an army of foreigners, of a race unknown, and a colour hitherto unlooked upon,—of whose intentions grave doubts cannot but have existed in the minds of multitudes unaccustomed to mercy or forbearance from a triumphant foe, must naturally have driven many to hide themselves for a time. The fact that numbers were bold enough to await our arrival, and trust not only themselves but their wives and children to the power of the English Chief and his army, at whose approach their own

* We arrived at this fine town on the 11th, after a most difficult march through dense columns of bamboo jungle, frequently placed like the aisles of a Cathedral.

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tyrants had retreated in dismay, was a tribute of respect for, and confidence in our character for good faith and justice, such as any English soldier might well be proud of. The Column crossed the stream of pure water which flowed from the mountains on our right. The long line of British soldiers—the tall sepoys of Hindustan—the small but wiry Madrassies—the picturesque Irregular Cavalry—and those powerful guns whose shells had struck such terror into the Burmese at Kyouk-yé-dwing and Gongoh, filed in a long line through the defenceless streets, gazed upon by a trembling half-trusting crowd of men and women—the inhabitants of Shoé-Gyne! Passing beyond the town to the north, and a little to the east, on a hill of small elevation, but in a very commanding position, is the stockade; we found it to be nearly new, very strongly built, and very lately evacuated by the Burmese army. It would contain a garrison of 700 men with ease, and can be extended on three sides, the ground being of the same, or nearly the same elevation to the south, the east, and the north. On the west the road to Tonghoo passes, and is completely commanded. Lieutenant Fraser, our able and energetic Field-Engineer, commenced at once the alterations and improvements necessary to convert the Burmese stockade into a strong and well fortified post. Our camp was pitched just beyond the town, on an esplanade to the right of the road leading up to the Hill Pagoda and stockade." As a town, even Rangoon could not be

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compared with Shoé-Gyne, (the valley of gold); but the Great Dagoon Pagoda was wanting here!

On the 12th the General met Lieutenant Hellard of the H. C. S. frigate *Feroze*, who had been fortunate enough to make his way up the Sitang from Martaban, and to arrive at Shway-Gween with three boats from his ship, and three more laden with provisions for the force. The only difficulty he experienced in the navigation of the river was in entering it, over numerous and extensive sand-banks, the channels between which have never been properly surveyed. The Bore appeared to him on one occasion, and the only one of any importance, about six feet high; but his boats had been hauled up in a small creek and were perfectly safe. After entering the river Lieutenant Hellard met with no obstacle of any kind to his progress; the channel was deep, even, and free from sand-banks.*

A ride through the town of Shoé-Gyne, on a tour of observation, gave a favourable impression of the place. The chief parts seemed to lie in five or six long spacious principal streets, as usual with the brick pathway in the centre; minor streets crossed these at right angles, the whole plan evidently laid out with care and taste. Numerous dogs and many fine cocks were to be seen in the town, the latter it is well known the Burmese do not kill, but keep for fighting. The day after our arrival the people

* Some interesting Notes on the Sitang Bore, kindly furnished by a Madras Officer, will be found in Appendix, No. XI.

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seemed less afraid of us. A brisk market was going on of grain, flour, vegetables, cloth, and other necessaries. The soldiers bought and the merchants sold with good will. In one house a woman was to be seen weaving cloth with a loom not unlike what may be seen daily in Glasgow or Manchester.

On the 13th we believe that a letter was received by the General from the Governors of Martaban, Shway-Gheen, and Kyouk-Ghee, stating that they had, under instructions from the Court of Ava, ceased hostilities until the result of an application to Rangoon for the settlement of the terms of a peace should be known. They hoped the General would not advance for the present beyond Shway-Gheen. No answer was returned to this letter, but as the Officers of the Commissariat reported that they could provide 20 days' provisions for a force of 800 men, with a proportion of followers, it was resolved to advance at once upon Tonghoo. Captain Carruthers of the 1st M. N. I., Moulmein detachment, was despatched with his company to Meekyo to escort some provisions expected there from Pegu. He took with him 60 boats furnished by the head man at Shway-Gheen, who, during our stay, had made himself exceedingly energetic and useful. It was resolved to take half of the 20 days' provisions for the force in boats up the Sitang River, escorted by the boats of the *Feroze*, under Lieutenant Hellard. The other half would be carried by 60 elephants and 40 platform carts, to each of which an extra team was furnished.

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CHAPTER XIV

FROM SHOE-GYNE TO TONGHOO.

THE Light Division of the Martaban Column was small, but very compact and well selected. Including Officers, the force did not exceed 900 men, 400 of whom were Europeans.* Various accounts had been circulated of the difficulties in the line of march, and the distance from Shoé-Gyne to Tonghoo was reckoned at from 80 to 100 miles.

* The force consisted of about 60 European Madras Artillery (D Company, 3d Battalion), with native gun lascars and drivers, under Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel Anstruther, C. B.; upwards of 50 Madras Sappers under Lieutenant Shortland; the Ramghur Cavalry detachment under Lieutenant Lambert; some 200 Bengal Fusiliers under Major Gerrard; about 170 Madras Fusiliers under Captain Geils; a detachment of the 5th M. N. I. under Major Shubrick; the 10th B. N. I. detachment under Major Welchman. Two 24-pounder howitzers and two 5¼-inch mortars, with rocket tube, accompanied the force. Fifty rounds of spare ammunition per man were carried in boats, also a quantity for the Artillery.

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It is recorded that in the Talavera Campaign, and during the hot season in Spain, General Craufurd marched with his light division, each man carrying a very considerable weight along with him, 62 miles in 26 hours, and left only 17 stragglers behind! Had there been any necessity for it General Steel would probably have endeavoured to emulate General Craufurd, notwithstanding the difference in the two climates. But 20 days was the limit of absence proposed; or seven to go, seven to return, and five or six in which to fight, or carry on political negotiations at the ancient city and fortress of Tonghoo, which had not been reached in the First Burmese War; where the footsteps of the Anglo-Saxon, one might say, had never yet been planted! Major Seton was left in command of Shoé-Gyne.

On Tuesday the 15th of February the force marched to Yong Daing, a distance of seven miles, through a dense jungle. On arrival we found the village deserted and in ruins. There were marks of a recent encampment, probably where a small band of dacoits had debated concerning the proceeds of the plunder of the village. It struck some during this march that the teak and other trees were finer than those we had previously seen. There was also a very curious species of the Banyan tree, while some blue flowers added to the beauty of the forest scenery.

News arrived to-day that several Burmese families had come into Martaban, also that a gallant affair

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had taken place near the Aeng Pass, in which the enemy's stockade had been taken by Captains Nuthall and Sutherland by a night surprise.* The stockade was upon the Nareghain Hill, near the entrance of the Pass. At night, or rather early in the morning of the 6th of January, the force sent by Major Maling, under the guidance of a native chief, arrived within two miles of Nareghain. "The force then moved silently forward towards the stockade, and Captain Nuthall having assured himself by personal observation that the enemy were asleep, ordered Captain Sutherland to charge the gate in force, he himself meanwhile firing a volley upon the inmates of the stockade. The Burmese, just roused from sleep and paralyzed by the suddenness of the attack, fled, abandoning even their guns." Thus was another laurel gained by the Arracan Local Battalion!

To seize a string of 120 elephants which were expected in Arracan in January on their way to Prome, when they would most probably pass through the defile, was doubtless the principal object of the Burmese in constructing the above stockade.

The weather was now becoming frightfully hot in tents; we found it particularly so at this place, hav-

* Before this a force under Major Maling, 68th B. N. I., and Captain Barry commanding the Arracan Battalion, had returned from a projected attack on the Aeng Pass Stockade, on account of its great strength, and from the want of artillery. This was at least highly prudent.

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ing just left a shady encampment at Shoé-Gyne. However in Burmah an occasional refreshing breeze springs up which counteracts the heat in a faint degree rather more frequently than in India. This may divest many of the notion, which there is good reason to believe is a fact, that the Burmese sun is more intense than the Indian one! Several people came in to the ruined village before we left.

On the 16th the force reached Bogāthā, a march of about 14 miles. It was a very difficult and tedious one, over uneven ground and through dense jungle. Guns upsetting, waggons upsetting; one splendid howitzer took upwards of 30 minutes of artillery tactics to extricate from a most perilous position! However it was righted all in good time; but had there been firing heard a-head on this occasion, when we were so nobly aided and flanked by infantry, it might have been extricated with more speed. To travel as easily as possible the Artillery had taken with them chiefly limbers in preference to waggons, and all the best cattle had been selected for this expedition at Shoé-Gyne. Our Colonel had shewn his usual judgment and tact in these respects. The gun was provoking enough, but for the catastrophe of a waggon we were indebted to a "half-reasoning elephant," who, on propelling it up a vast steep hurled it over with little ceremony. Major Welchman and his gallant Corps, the 10th B. N. I., were of great service to us in this dilemma, as our men were now much scattered on account of the difficulty

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of bringing on the artillery train. But altogether, as above remarked, not more than half-an-hour was lost, and the force arrived at Bogāthā not much behind the usual time.

In this vicinity the tiger was said to abound; but beyond hearing that a bullock had been killed and a driver wounded by one of these animals, no accidents were reported.

On the 17th the force arrived at Kyouk-Ghee, after a march of nearly 15 miles. Starting at six, we came in a little after 12,—fair marching, considering the jungle and the heat of the sun. There were some difficult steeps on the way, but these and other obstacles we surmounted this morning with a sort of practised facility. We encamped near the bank of a beautiful creek of the Sitang. On the other side lay the town—one of considerable importance—through which we rambled during the day and inspected some captured Chiefs, the result of a reconnoitring party of Irregular Horse which had gone out immediately after arrival, under Captain Clogstoun; Captain Travers was also a chivalrous companion in arms on this occasion, for the particulars of which the reader is referred to the General's despatch in the Appendix.* Nothing could be more provoking than the escape of the Governor of Martaban. Among the trophies found was a gold chain and insignia which, according to Burmese custom, had been presented by the King of Ava to Moung-

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Bho — "Moungbwa," — on his installation into office. The captured Chiefs, surrounded by their followers, made an excellent living picture, and interested us considerably. But there was something ludicrous about it, so it would have required the powers of Wilkie and Allan together to have put it faithfully on canvass. Our friend Moung-Goung was there looking quite pleased apparently at the condition of his captured brethren; these "nobles" did not seem at all to consider that they had been defeated in a grand object; if they did, it showed a pliancy of mind under difficulties, a quality not too common even among enlightened Europeans! The country around Kyouk-Ghee was well worthy of attention. A splendid ridge of hills about 2000 feet high looked down on us, while we were encamped near clear water and among the varied beauties of woodland scenery. We found some good houses and streets in the town, also a few romantic-looking old Pagodas.

On the 18th we proceeded on our march northward, and having gone a distance of 12 miles, reached Kyoumbea.

At first we entered a dense jungly forest with trees of every hue and shape, innumerable creepers round the trees, as if Love had fairly taken up his abode in this retreat; there were some fine pieces of timber here and there, but chiefly of young growth. At length we came to a bamboo forest, where were over-hanging gothic arches of infinite grace and

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beauty, forming a glorious canopy as we passed along. In addition to the ordnance captured at Kyouk-Ghee, we found at Waigee, five miles from the last encamping ground, two iron guns and some jingals; these we destroyed.

On the 19th the force marched to Mome, or Moung-Goa, a distance of more than 12 miles. Less forest and jungle appeared during this march, and the ground was harder and more level than usual. The teak tree was to be seen occasionally; but, as heretofore, it was generally young. The best teak is found more inland, or away from the influence of the Sitang river, which we believe renders the wood soft, and for many purposes unserviceable. We were once more in sight of this noble river for the first time since leaving Shoé-Gyne.

Several inhabitants appeared on our arrival at the village. Crossing over a creek of pure water, the force encamped on a picturesque plain a little beyond. Here it was said that the Martaban Governor had gone on, and that a large party of Burmese soldiery had taken a different road from that over which we were forcing our way. Captain Clogstoun again went out with a small party of sowars to reconnoitre. Nothing however was seen or done, and the only piece of intelligence we could obtain worth recording was, that accredited agents had arrived at Tonghoo from Ava; that there were rival parties, and these were fighting in the

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streets to the no ordinary danger of the more peaceful citizens!

On the 20th we arrived at Laylangoh, distant 10 miles from Mome. On the whole we found this a very good road, through forest, plain, and patches of long grass. The timber was of a larger growth than usual. There were two or three deep nullahs to cross, but these did not occasion us much inconvenience. We passed by several small villages, the inhabitants, including many old women and young children, came boldly out to see the "Englishers" with their strange soldiers and their strange cattle. They must have thought we were bound for Ava or Pekin at least! At any rate PROGRESS was strongly stamped on the appearance of our force. A suspension-bridge of the most curious construction was to be seen on this march, which shewed a rude knowledge of engineering. The people were very obliging. The General with his troops inspired confidence, while the Proclamation he distributed shewed that the Indian Government were in earnest. Conciliation had not been better employed since the days of the Marquess Wellesley.

For the following account of the concluding portion of the achievements of the Martaban Column we are indebted to an accomplished Officer of the force:

On the 21st of February we marched 18 miles, to Thandobin, on the bank of the Sitang. There was no place adapted for the encampment of more

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than a very small detachment until we reached the river, which runs with considerable force and has a good body of water here; the village is situated on both sides of it. The ford slopes across, going down the stream, from the right to the left bank, and is nearly half-a-mile in length, the water coming above a horse's breast. On our first appearance at the river-side we saw a Burmese Chief, mounted on a large horse and accompanied by a few followers, on the opposite shore. He hailed us, and the Assistant Quartermaster-General with an Interpreter rode down to the water's edge to hear what he had to say. He called out to know the cause of our appearance on the borders of his dominions: "You," he said, "are the governors of a great country and we are the same; what is your purpose in coming so far?" He added that he would not fire upon us if we did not fire on him. He was told that if he wanted to say anything he might come across the river to the General's tent and return at his pleasure; he however declined the honour, and shortly afterwards rode off to Tonghoo, styled by the people of the country *Tan-hoon*. It subsequently appeared that on his arrival there the Governors of Tonghoo, Martaban, Shway-Gheen, and all the other Chiefs, including himself, set out with great haste on the road to Ava.

On the morning of the 22d the whole force crossed the Sitang. The majority of the men were carried over on elephants, and the Column marched on

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Tonghoo. We had not gone far before the principal men of the city met us and surrendered the place. Numbers of the people came out with presents of fruit, and shewed in many ways their delight at the approach of our army. As we advanced a great number of Burmese thronged behind the General. For about eight miles we passed through fertile cultivated plains, studded with numerous villages; and then the great walls of the ancient city of Tonghoo broke in upon our view. We marched up from the south and passed along the eastern face, outside the grass-grown ditch 100 yards in width; and the General at the head of the Column that had forced its way in 34 days from the besieged citadel of Martaban, through 240 miles of unknown forest, with a long and heavy train of artillery—surmounting difficulties which few land marches on record ever had to encounter—passed in triumph under the old gateway of the capital of this once great and powerful country.* Although numbers of the inhabitants were collected in different parts to look at us as we entered, the place from its magnitude appeared partially deserted; we repaired at once to the arsenal, where we found a considerable number of guns in good order, as well as ammunition. Every thing shewed that the appearance of our army at Tonghoo had never been

* Tonghoo, an ancient province (independent), extended we believe some 80 miles beyond this capital; it was then conquered by the Peguese, from whom it appears to have been taken by the Burmese.

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SKETCH PLAN

OF THE

TONGHOO FORTRESS

SURROUNDING

THE

SHOAY-ZAN-DAW PAGODA

BY

Lieut. Trevor Wheler

Assist. Field Engineer, Tonghoo.

SCALE

11 Inches to 1 Mile.

Ground Plan of Gateways

Exterior

Gate

Pagoda and Inner Fort.

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contemplated by their Chiefs. No attempt had been made to remove anything, and the guns had not even been mounted on the walls, but were collected in order and placed beneath a large shed. Soon after our camp had been pitched the Irregular Cavalry were ordered out in pursuit of the Chiefs who had fled the day previous. The energetic and indefatigable Captain Clogstoun, accompanied by Lieutenant Lambert the zealous commandant of the Ramghur Horse, Captains Travers, Fanshawe, and Maxwell, also went as volunteers. Although only 30 horsemen were employed they followed the fugitives up for more than 20 miles, only ceasing the pursuit on finding their horses completely exhausted and on learning that the Chiefs were still many miles a-head. This was a gallant and daring feat on the part of such a small body, and worthy of the best days of our best soldiers. The summary and complete expulsion of the Burmese troops from the whole country, extending from Martaban on the south to 30 miles north of Tonghoo, was thus effected by the Martaban Column under Brigadier-General Steel, on the 22d of February 1853.

Now fairly inside the "hitherto unattained * ancient fortress of Tonghoo," it became questionable whether we would get away quite so soon as we had

* In the first war "Colonel Godwin" endeavoured to cross over from Prome to Tonghoo, but could not do so for want of water, &c. We regret that the Column was not allowed to try and force its way across to Prome.

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calculated on. General Steel resolved to wait an answer to his communication with General Godwin; and this could not be expected before the first week in March. Meanwhile the provision boats, under escort of the boats of the *Feroze* arrived, and there was every probability of our being well supplied in the commissariat department. At such a critical period of the war, waiting himself at Tonghoo was highly creditable to the judgment of our Chief of the Martaban Column: Some flank movement in conjunction with the Prome force might, under certain circumstances, have given a decisive and brilliant termination to the war; unfortunately however these circumstances did not occur. In the maps Tonghoo is further north than Prome and on a direct road to Ava!

Rice, sugar-cane, and silk, also various excellent oils and wax, appeared to be among the chief articles for sale at Tonghoo. The people seemed quiet and inoffensive, affording, as before hinted, easy ground for moral and intellectual improvement. The walls of their ancient city are reputed to be about 540 years old. There is still strength, but "the rents of ruin" are everywhere visible. The number of bricks employed we forget, though a Burmese Poonghee could tell you to the unit! The town is scattered and not imposing; and the pagoda, on the only rising ground to the west, is very wretched. As a station Tonghoo may be considered too low and damp to be quite healthy for troops. The

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Sitang flows within a quarter of a mile of the eastern gate; and several large boats, including those of the Navy, were to be seen at the Ghat. The force wound up its march with an act of humanity; Dr Bond, our Artillery Medical Officer, extracted a rifle ball from the leg of a Burmese soldier who had received it while engaged against us at Pegu, with a skill which would have been creditable to Liston or Sir Astley Cooper.

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CHAPTER XV.

NOTES ON BASSEIN.*

BASSEIN, styled a "City" in General Godwin's Despatch, was the third important place captured from the King of Ava; and was taken by assault on the 19th of May, about 5 P. M., by detachments of H. M's. 51st and 9th M. N. I. The city is situated about 90 miles up the river of the same name, and is in latitude N. 16. 46. 35. and longitude E. 90°. 45′. The river is navigable during the rains by a steamer of from 700 to 900 tons nearly 80 miles further up. The ground at and around Bassein is generally flat; here and there fine plains surrounded with dense forest; in some parts much underwood, in others very little. The Stockade of Bassein City, *i. e.* as connected with the Big Pagoda, is about 100 yards; the river is

* By an Artillery Officer who was stationed at Bassein from July to December 1852. The Madras Fusiliers relieved H. M.'s 51st at Bassein, and the 19th N. I. the 9th M. N. I. stationed there.

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nearly 300 yards wide, with a depth of about 15 fathoms of water in the middle. At high tide small vessels of 150 tons can lay alongside the pier and discharge cargo easily. Directly opposite Bassein, in a westerly direction, and about 15 miles distant, are the Hills of Arracan.

Generally speaking, the soil around the old Stockade is swampy, owing to the earth having been dug out to bank up the planking. The soil appears very productive, and were it not for the want of cultivation there would be large quantities of paddy produced. The Monsoon lasts from the end of May to the beginning of September, with occasional showers in the month. October close and hazy. The cold weather commences about the 10th of November and lasts till the middle of February, when the hot season begins. The climate is considered good. The Great Pagoda is upon a terrace about 20 feet above the level of the ground, the foundation being upon a bed of laterite; its height is 120 feet, the upper 70 of which are beautifully gilt; the basement is octagonal. The terrace is an oblong square about 120 feet each way. The inhabitants are Talines, Burmese, Karens, with a dash of Mussulmans. The Karens—many of whom are Christians—are by far the best men, being more industrious and more trustworthy; the expression of their faces proclaim them at once to be a much more sincere and honest race than the others, as does the expression of the half-bred Mahomedan to be by far the worst The

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population now at Bassein is fully 20,000. I know nothing regarding the population of the district. Although the people of Bassein could never be called wealthy there is no doubt that many have a few odd rupees hoarded up.

The Mud Fort was a stockade covered with mud, the earth of which was taken from the inner fort, where there was to have been a large pond. The stockade on the opposite side of the river was an ordinary stockade, with a regular number of gateways for us to enter and for the Burmese to run out. The water within the stockade, of which there is a good supply, is procured from numerous wells; it has, when fresh drawn, a rather chalky appearance; but it gradually clears and has no bad taste.

VEGETABLES.—A wild spinach, two kinds of yam (red and white), pumpkins, melons, long beans, Karinne potatoes—sweet potatoes.

FRUITS.—Plantains—three or four kinds, cocoa nut, jack fruit, beetle nut, custard apple, mango, pine apple, Tamarind, bilimbi—a kind of gooseberry, ginger, and plants resembling both nutmeg and coffee, but not having seen either flower or fruit I cannot say for certain. Generally speaking the fruits here are not very good.

GEOLOGY * I know nothing about; all I know is that within the old stockade there are two or three beds of laterite.

* Crawford collected, and Buckland examined a series of Geological specimens of every rock seen from the delta of

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CONCHOLOGY.—There are of shells—cyclostoma, paludina, a small (land) shell shaped like a trochus, nerita, keritina, scarabæus, and the shell slug; also the succinea.

BOTANY.—Vast quantities of ferns, epiphytes, and convolvulus, Passion-flowers, a few rose trees, the double jasmine, wild balsams, clitoria, China creeper, Rangoon creeper, and a flower like the camellia; palms,—fan palms of course are plentiful. The large and dwarf bamboo abound. Prickly pears, banyans, cockscombs, sensitive plants, the four o'clock, and moon flower. The large beaned entada, the teak tree, and the tree producing the pedowk, are in the district.

The head man of the Burmese is called Moung-Shoay-Bo; I know not whether he is Burman, Taline, or Taline-Burman; my opinion tallies with most officers in Bassein that he is as much to be trusted as a wild American savage. The head of the Karens is Moung-Shoay-Wangee, an honest, upright, trustworthy man. Mahomed Saib, the head Mussulman, carries his character in his face, and ought never to have held his situation. The head Shan (I do not know his name) sometimes being reduced to two followers, and never having more than four, is of course a person of an infinitesimal quantity of consequence. The Interpreter—Claudius,

the Irrawaddy to the mountains north of Sagaing; from which it appears that the tertiary formation rests upon the transition or mountain limestone, and the intervening coal measures of Europe are wanting.—*Mason.*

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I shall merely mention. And so much for the principal characters of Bassein!

Chowchangley, the next largest place up the river above Bassein, contains a population of about 15,000, and is governed by a Burmese thoroughly friendly to the English.

The Minghee of Bassein when driven out of his seat of government went to Chowchangley; when expelled from this by the steamer he stockaded a place about three miles inland, put his troops into it, and amused himself by sending out detachments to plunder the district and behead all Burmese caught who were friendly to us, at the same time giving us notice once a month of his coming to take the place from us and killing us all; but knowing discretion to be the better part of valour he limited his exertions to threats. *

The following report on the defences of Bassein as they stood immediately after its capture by the British will be of interest to military readers. It was drawn up by Lieutenant Craster of the Bengal Engineers:—The town of Bassein stands in a deep re-entering angle of the river, and is surrounded by an irregularly built fortification. The west or river face, and a portion of the south face are protected by

* Here end the Artillery Officer's Notes, which have been left intentionally as much as possible in their original garb. Our best thanks, including those we presume of the reader, are returned to their author.

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an old brick wall surrounded by a stockade, or rather parapet, with an abattis in front, and the gates on the faces are covered by large masonry traverses. The north and east faces have an enceinte of simple stockade, and receive additional strength from the marshy ground in their front. On the river face 14 guns, 3 and 6-pounders, were mounted. The total number in the stockade being 30 guns and 6 jingals. On the salient point opposite the town, a stockade mounting 12 guns and 16 jingals was erected, so as to bring a heavy fire on the approach to the town by the river; but the main stronghold of the enemy was a mud fort judiciously placed at a narrow bend of the river, and fortified with great care, three sides being protected by a wet ditch 36 feet wide and 6 feet deep, and the remaining side following the course of the river at a distance of about ten yards from high-water mark. This fort is built of mud well rammed, and is furnished with a regular banquette and steps to mount the parapet; traverses are built on the river face to protect it from enfilade fire; these traverses are of mud rivetted with planking. In the centre of the fort a large tank has been excavated, and the bund surrounding it cut into a regular parapet, so as to form an intrenchment across the fort facing towards the west. The ramparts are 18 feet high, and on them are mounted 16 guns and a number of jingals. This fort is remarkable on account of its differing so much from the ordinary fortifications of the Burmese, its section

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bearing a resemblance to that of an European field work, and the gates being all covered by large earthen traverses. The three stockades form a very strong position, as they naturally afford each other a strong flanking fire, and being entirely isolated, require to be taken in detail.

The district of Bassein—as notable for its dacoit chiefs as for its creeks—was destined to be summarily cleared of the enemy about the same time as the march of the Martaban Land Column. Captain Fytche, the Deputy Commissioner, reached Bassein on the 2d of January, and on the following morning the Proclamation of Annexation was read to the inhabitants. Reports of the depredations of dacoit chiefs about 50 miles to the south-east of the town of Bassein having become frequent, it was resolved to proceed in search of them. Captain Fytche started on the 5th of January in the steamer *Nemesis;* but Captain Godwin, the Commander of that vessel, finding after leaving the great river that the water in the creeks was too shallow for the steamer, the expedition proceeded in boats, and having, through the aid of some Karens, discovered the haunts of the robbers, these were quickly dispersed with considerable loss, and immediate tranquillity and confidence produced in the vicinity. About 75 miles to the eastward of Bassein the Burmese had intrenched themselves in the Duggah creek; on the

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arrival of the *Zenobia* on the 20th of January, her Captain (Rennie) and crew, with the Deputy-Commissioner, proceeded against them in the *Nemesis*. The Chief was brought down by a shot from the hand of Captain Fytche himself; the dacoits seeing their leader was no more, fled precipitately. The gallant Captain next determined to attack a stronghold of the enemy, where it was said the former Governor, or Minku, had collected about 3,000 men. This affair was admirably managed, and reflects the highest credit on all concerned. "The Burmese, together with their camp-followers, could not have numbered less than 10,000." Although a forced march, four field pieces had accompanied our detachment. The enemy fled to the jungle at the first discharge. A lady, said to be of princely rank, and the two adopted sons of the Minku were taken prisoners. Forty-seven of the foe were left on the field; 300 stands of arms fell into our hands, and the ex-Governor when last seen was making his way into the jungle with only half a dozen followers. * This was supposed to be the last remaining stronghold of the dacoits in the Bassein district; but depend upon it unless every precaution is taken in such a region, there is every chance of—when one head is cut of, there springing up another!

* *Friend of India*, February 24.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE DISASTER NEAR DONNABEW.

WE have now to record one of the darkest events in the whole course of the Second Burmese War; namely, the expedition against a notorious robber chieftain by name Nya-Myat-Toon, who had won for himself an all-powerful name in Donnabew and its vicinity. He had captured our boats in their progress up and down the river, and had proved himself to be a dacoit so bold and resolute that it was deemed necessary for the safety of our transports to send a considerable force against him. This consisted of 185 seamen, 62 marines, and 25 officers, under the command of Captain Loch, C. B., R. N., of H. M's. Ship *Winchester*, and 300 of the 67th B. N. I. under Major Minchin. Two 3-pounder guns of the H. C. S. *Phlegethon*, also accompanied the expedition. The party which left Rangoon at the beginning of February advanced from Donnabew, and after proceeding a long distance without observing any signs of an enemy, came upon the bank of a

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small nullah. This common obstacle to the progress of British troops through a Burmese jungle was steep on both sides and partly filled with water. The road which had led the force through the jungle was at this particular spot so narrow that the front could only be formed of two or three files; and on account of the thick brushwood and terrible bamboo spikes in the ground, it was impossible to deploy a line of skirmishers on either flank. As soon as the leading files of the column appeared on the bank of this nullah they were assailed by a perfect hailstorm of musket balls from a masked stockade on the opposite bank, and also from marksmen concealed in the branches of every tree in the vicinity. "All our men in front," writes a narrator of the awful scene, "were immediately struck down. Commander Lambert, the Commodore's son, received four balls through his jacket, fortunately without even grazing his skin, but Captain Loch who was standing by his side was struck by a bullet which shattered his watch and passed through his body. Captain Price of the 67th fell mortally wounded, Lieutenant Kennedy of H. M.'s Ship *Fox* was killed, and the men continued to drop on all sides." A retreat was now resolved upon; and this was conducted in so able, cool, and gallant a manner, under the most trying circumstances, as to render it one of the most remarkable achievements of the war. Out of 225 Europeans who advanced to the attack, 6 were left dead on the field, and 53 wounded.

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The loss of the Bengal Regiment amounted to 5 men killed and 18 wounded; in all 82 casualties. The gallant party finding it impossible to bring on the guns, immediately spiked and abandoned them. Captain Loch died of his wounds on the 6th of February; and thus did Her Majesty's Navy lose one of its most devoted servants —an ornament to a profession which, like the Military, owes its chief glory to the "unhesitating obedience to the call of duty." The remains of the gallant officer were brought down in the *Phlegethon* to Rangoon, where they were interred with the usual honours in a grave beside poor Doran, who fell on the 14th of April. We should have mentioned that while the party were retreating through dense jungle with their wounded, the Burmese endeavoured to get in their front, so as to cut off entirely the gallant band. But so nobly did the rear guard, composed of the grenadiers and No. 1 Company of the 67th behave, that the enemy's various attempts were rendered quite unavailing. Of course another expedition of a nature more likely to ensure success against the notorious dacoit of Donnabew was immediately resolved upon, the operations and result of which are recorded in a subsequent Chapter of this Narrative. A sort of fatality seems to hang over this word "Donnabew." Did the shade of Bundoola the Great adminis-

* Captain Price, a most excellent officer, was buried at Yandoon.

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ter that—to some—sweet medicine *revenge* to the chieftain Nya-Myat-Toon? It seemed so; for the robber now had had his fill.

It is difficult for those who were not actors in the above tragedy to form a decidedly just opinion as to the tactics pursued on the occasion. The force of circumstances, we all know, it is not in human nature to foresee. The writer of a narrative, however, has a license to remark where he thinks fit; not perhaps because he is inflated with the idea of his own scientific knowledge, but because something may ooze out in a deliberate review of events which may benefit those employed in similar expeditions. Let us first give some more details from another source.

A short time before the disastrous occurrence some of our boats had proceeded up a creek near Donnabew to catch if possible the notorious Dacoit Chief; these were driven back In consequence of this misfortune the above ill-fated expedition was fitted out with all possible dispatch, and placed under the command of Captain Loch. The force proceeded to Donnabew, but as the creeks were all found to be staked, the boats were abandoned and a march determined on. After a distance of 25 miles was completed they approached the robber's stronghold, but apparently without that due caution in the Commander which is so essential to the success of all such difficult expeditions. The robber chief was as much at home among his creeks and forest fastnesses as the sailor is on board his

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favourite man-of-war. The force advanced up a narrow path, with dense jungle and spikes on each side. About two miles from the stockade they came to a wet nullah, with a drop of some 30 feet—a trap evidently prepared for those who would dare invade the spot where, for numbers of years, skill and might had made the sovereign "right!" At this nullah the force came to a short halt; they could not proceed, and found it impracticable to turn either to the right or to the left. At this period of consternation the tremendous fire was opened upon them from a breastwork on the other side of the nullah, from the tops of trees, and from the jungle on either flank. A party of Peguese who accompanied the force assisted in carrying off the killed and wounded. The grief of these allies at our misfortune was manifested by their roaring lustily, and by their throwing themselves on the ground. For 25 miles the force pursued their dismal retreat, harassed by the enemy, and often well nigh fainting for want of water, till, with that indomitable British spirit reigning in its full power in some, while others looked as if they were broken-hearted and dismayed, our brave men reached Donnabew.

Now, to be very brief over a sorrowful subject, it must naturally strike the majority of military men that the moment a march inland was resolved upon the force to be employed should have been entirely under a Military Commander. Let us sup-

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pose the Artillery arm on this occasion to have been the strongest and most serviceable. The valuable services of the Navy* might have been made available at such a crisis in assisting artillerymen and their cattle to bring along to the stronghold nothing less in physical importance, in the way of artillery, than two 12-pounder howitzers, with a large complement of the most destructive projectiles! There was no necessity for advancing up a narrow path, even if the guide insisted on it; a reconnoitring party should have first reported on its practicability for the passage of guns—for sending out skirmishers if necessary; in short, for meeting any difficulty which might arise. It is probable that had there been a Military Commander with full power, these precautions would have been adopted. The daring energy of the British sailor, while conscious of the performance of his duty, must occasionally lead him into extremes. The energetic heroism of Sir Sidney Smith with his small band at St Jean d'Acre was required by an extraordinary emergency, and it turned out to be a great success; but many will inquire—Where was the emergency, where the necessity, that compelled a Naval Commander to advance so rashly against a determined enemy, 25 miles by land, from the town of Donnabew?

On the above lamentable occasion, it was said that the gallant 67th when they saw so many Euro-

* And we know how valuable these were at the taking of Rangoon.

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peans falling around them were desirous of charging the enemy's work. Such a charge at such a time would probably have been disastrous in its consequences; but the desire speaks volumes in favour of the Bengal sepoy. He was well aware of the dislike entertained by the Burmese or any other enemy at a rush of cold steel on their position. This might have done admirably near Donnabew had artillery of an effective sort first done its duty. Such not being the case the Indian sepoy here proved himself to be at least equal in prudence and tactics to the unfortunate European!

Captain Granville G. Loch it appears* was born in 1813, entered the service as a volunteer in 1824, and in 1834 obtained his Lieutenant's commission. On becoming Commander he studied with unusual energy and perseverance the science and practice of steam, in the great factory of Mr Napier, the celebrated steam-engine manufacturer of Glasgow. He was soon appointed to command the *Vesuvius* in the Mediterranean. Fortune smiled on him; he was at length posted; and, as one of the youngest Post-Captains in the service, appointed to the South American station. On arriving at Rio de Janeiro he found his ship in the Pacific. Eclipsing the journey of Sir Francis Head, "he actually rode across the South American Continent" to join his

* *Friend of India*, February 24, 1853. For an account of Captain Loch's encounter with a Burman, see Appendix, No. VI, letter dated 30th November, 1852.

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vessel. He next served in China under Sir William Parker and Lord Gough. In 1846, on the West Indian station, he "was entrusted with the settlement of the Musquito question," sailed up "the Lake of Nicaragua, took several forts on his way, and was the first to navigate a river so filled with rapids as to be deemed impassable." For these services he was made a C. B., and was complimented by Sir Robert Peel and Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons. He was next appointed to the command of H. M.'s ship *Winchester*; and ended a short but eventful career in the Second Burmese War.

[After this disaster General Godwin issued an excellent Order, directing that in all combined military and naval expeditions the senior Military Officer shall have the chief command, no matter what his rank may be relatively to that of the senior Naval Officer present. "He justifies this arrangement by reference to the fact that when troops are serving on board ship the senior Naval Officer takes command over all the Military Officers with the force."]

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CHAPTER XVII.

AT PROME AND MEEADAY.

So many acts of the great drama being now concluded, it becomes necessary to remark a very curious feature in the Second Burmese War—the sudden and seemingly voluntary disappearance of the majority of our enemy from the scene of strife. Of course the Revolution at Ava was the cause of this sudden and unexpected movement. It probably was with those chiefly interested a frantic rush, dictated by a rude ambition, to secure some of the valuable things attendant upon a falling or fallen Monarchy. In a very few years the question regarding these Asiatic monarchies will be—Where are they? The destiny that has been forced upon us will simply repeat—Where are they? Where will be the misrule of the once "princely house of Oude!"—where the puppet-like government productive of nothing save evil, scheming, and oppression, that existed with the Nizam of the Deccan? An in-

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vincible necessity tells us that all such bad fashions must pass away!

The news of the Revolution at Ava would naturally produce with some such impressions as these. Yet there was something strange about the sudden withdrawal of the greater number of the Burmese soldiery from Pegu. The force which was dispersed by General Godwin in December had, as before remarked, invested Pegu a second time, but it suddenly broke up and disappeared on the 8th of January! It seems probable that this move was simultaneous with that of the others to Ava. The enemy left Euthāy-Mew on the 28th of December, and it might take a week for the news of the Revolution to reach Pegu, thereby accounting for the difference of dates of departure. The troops that remained in the Province to annoy General Steel's Column, or give trouble such as has been seen at Donnabew, were of the most desperate and marauding character!

It has been already stated that General Godwin left Rangoon on the 29th of December; the day after, H. M.'s ship *Spartan* on her way to China, paid us a visit. The Commissioner and Governor-General's agent, Captain Phayre, started in the *Medusa* for Prome on New-year's-day. General Godwin with his Staff got up the river very well as far as Yea-Ghain, where the *Proserpine* grounded; they were then obliged to transfer themselves to two small river steamers which most fortunately accom-

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panied them, and the Chief arrived safe on the 5th of January. It was at Yea-Ghain that Sir John Cheape's report of the desertion of the stockade at Euthāy-Mew reached the party, and all were surprised and disappointed. But doubtless the General as well as others thought, after the freshness of the news had fled, that the Revolution and its consequences would in all probability turn out very favourably for the views of the Government of India. An inspection of the deserted stockade showed it was not worth much; the position was good, with rising ground in the rear, and in one or two places it was very strong. It covered an immense space of ground, and would have required a large force to have defended it. We found it to be only four miles from Prome. The work is now (11th February) quite dismantled, the natives who have been flocking into Prome in large crowds, having brought in all the bamboos and other material pertaining to the timber wall to construct their houses. Prome was now quite full of people; it also boasted an excellent bazaar. The town was being laid out into broad streets, and Captain Latter was fully occupied in his new post of Deputy Commissioner.

On the 23d of January General Godwin and headquarters of the Staff proceeded to Meeaday in the *Nerbudda*, with a flat full of stores and artillery; while a Land Column under Sir John Cheape, consisting of about 800 or 900 men, departed also. The General reached Meeaday on the 25th—found it

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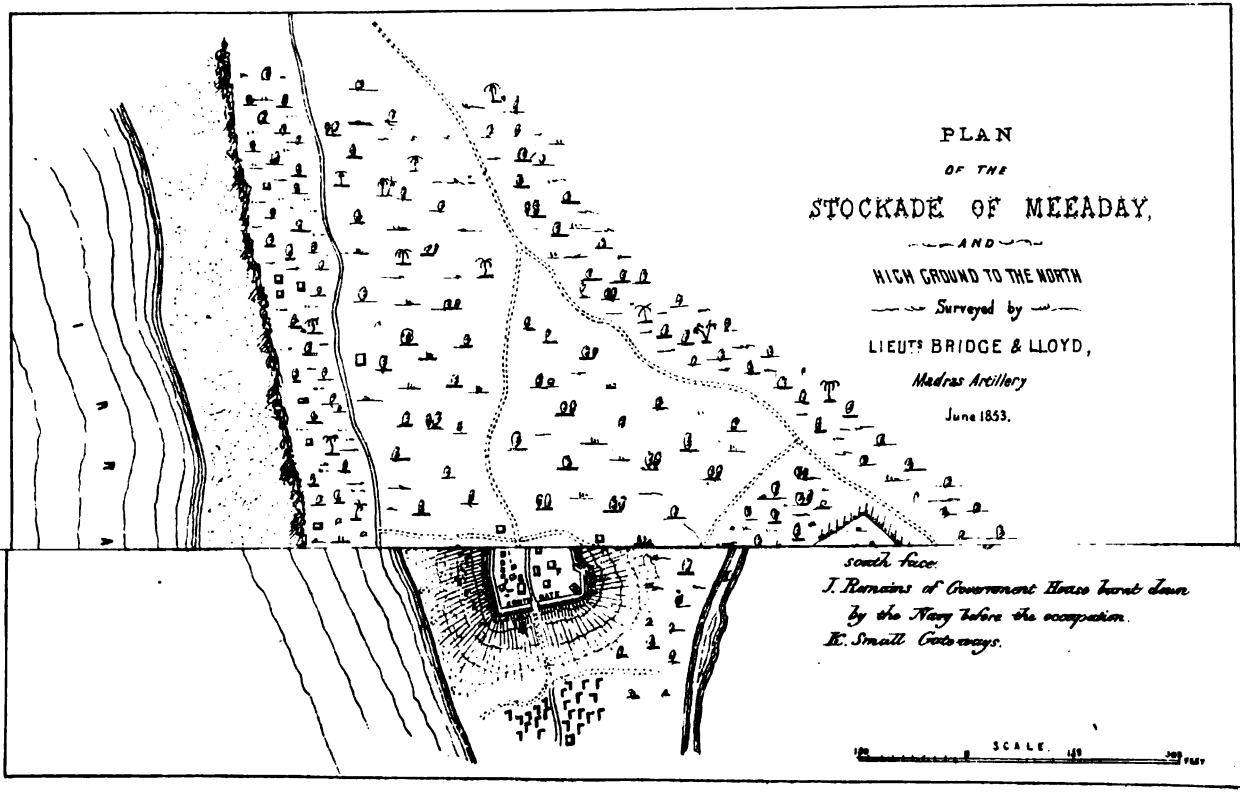

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evacuated—and accordingly took possession. It is situated on rising ground—in fact a plateau on the river's bank—and was surrounded with a splendid and perfectly new stockade, almost as elaborate as that at Rangoon, evidently only finished about December. The writer from whom we take this information * says:—"It seems natural to ask the question When the Burmese take the trouble to construct such fine defences why will they not stay to defend them? We left a garrison of 500 men at Meeaday under Colonel Apthorp—that is, headquarters and about 300 of the 35th M. N. I., with 200 of the 51st K. O. L. I., and two long 9-pounders, two 24-pounder howitzers, two mortars, and a detail of Artillery. We found nearly enough of cover in the way of Poonghee houses alone for this force; and we left some Sappers as a temporary arrangement, to make them comfortable." General Godwin returned on the 29th, and the Land Column left Meeaday on the 30th and reached Prome on the 3d of February. On the 27th, while at Meeaday, a deputation from the Prince Memdoon (or Meeahdoung) came down from Ava in two State canoes, and splendid boats they were—magnificently gilt, with 50 "golden" oars each! The letter from the Prince was brought by two Italian priests and two Burmese. The reply left on the 28th, and it was expected, if they really intended to treat, that their people would be down

* In a letter from Prome.

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during the first week in March. Captain Phayre, the Commissioner, remained for a short time at Meeaday. He had most fortunately accompanied the Land Column, and was on the spot when the deputation arrived. The ambassadors were rather surprised to see the English at Meeaday, as they had orders from Ava to go to Prome, or to Rangoon if necessary, to meet the General. Regarding the deputation another officer writes:—"The next day the General gave them a reply, and told them he should expect to see them back again with an answer very shortly, or he should jump to Ava and fetch it! They were very much astonished to find us at Meeaday, and wanted much to know, after the Proclamation, what on earth took us there?" It was also said that the King and four of his ministers were besieged in the palace—that the cities of Ava and Amerapoora were in ruins—and that the brother was a great favourite, and voted for peace! It may not be uninteresting to our English readers to give one of the most widely-reported "arguments" which became current on the outbreak of the Revolution. It reminds one a little of those effusions as they stand prefixed to some of Shakspere's plays:—The brother of the King of Ava, being heir to the throne, went to his elder brother and represented the state of affairs to him—declaring that, having lost so many of their principal cities and posts it was useless to prolong a war which must eventually terminate in the entire absorption of the Burmese Em-

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pire; the King would hear nothing however, so his brother retired to the forests with many followers. Some of the King's ministers were of the same way of thinking as his brother; they joined the Prince, and the heir returned to take the throne. Meanwhile it had been seized and occupied by one of the ministers—the Prime Minister—in order to depose whom all the troops were called up to Ava! Some said that the old King had been murdered at the gate of his palace, others that he was simply in confinement. The Burmese being a loyal people it was just possible that the minister would be displaced and the rightful heir seated on the throne, which may terminate the war! The above "argument," and something more, is simply writing what was current in January;* and now it will be interesting to see how things really did turn out; fortunately, already the time seems at hand when both the drama and the actors must take farewell of "action!"

On the 10th of February the *Bentinck* steamer left Prome for Meeaday, to bring down Captain Phayre. On his leaving the place reports arrived from Ava that the Prince Memdoon was still in the ascendant; that the King was still besieged in his palace, but it was expected that he must give in soon. People were beginning to come into Meeaday, and confidence was increasing under British protection. At Prome about this time the morn-

* 1853.

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ings and evenings were cool, but the sun was as usual very hot during the day. It is 12 hours' steaming to Meeaday, exclusive of all accidents, and 6 hours down to Prome. The General's party came down in 5½ hours. Major Fraser was busily engaged in building barracks on the heights for the European soldiers, and a large portion of Major Burgoyne's troop of Madras Horse Artillery had arrived under Captain Foulis. According to the same writer (11th February) the elephants—in anticipation of an advance on Ava—would not arrive at Prome before the 1st of March; they were not yet at the Sandoway Pass, and Lieutenant-Colonel Edwards, 18th R. I., had proceeded with a portion of his regiment to bring them to Prome. By proceeding down to Sandoway they would avoid the entrance of the Aeng Pass and any Burmese who might feel inclined to annoy the gigantic train. The Pass cleared, if we do not draw our boundary line above it a sharp eye must ever be kept on this gate of Arracan!

It may here be interesting to give a few curious facts and assertions about the Irrawaddy. The waters of this river, said one authority, kept up to their full height till a little beyond the day of the occupation of Prome by our troops, after which they began to sink "with a rapidity unknown even in the Hooghly," having sank upwards of 20 feet below high-water mark. It was also asserted that had the advance on Prome been delayed a fortnight it could not have been

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made! By the beginning of February the H. C.'s vessels *Krishna* and *Spy* had returned from their labours in surveying the entrance into the Irrawaddy by the Baragué river; and the favourable report they brought was, that "a good channel for ships up to 700 tons burthen exists at all seasons, with not less than 3½ fathoms." The services of the *Spy* were thus previously recorded by another writer:—"The schooner discovered on a survey a fine channel into the great Irrawaddy by the Chinna-Buckeer branch, with some 15 or 20 fathoms of water."

By a letter from Prome dated the 4th of March, we learned that the old King was still confined in his palace a prisoner; that the new one had been proclaimed in his stead, to the delight of the Nation; and peace with the British seemed certain in a very short time, as the chief Italian priest had returned from Ava, with orders to say that a deputation, with full powers to treat, would follow shortly; accredited agents were expected on the 16th of March. One hundred and forty-eight elephants had arrived at Prome. Sir John Cheape with about 600 men had gone after the far-famed robber-chief of Donnabew; apparently The Robber of the Irrawaddy will be famous in story as well as "The Robber of the Rhine"! Captain Phayre had just started from Rangoon. The war was considered by many people at Prome as over!

Having now exhausted all private notes and letters set aside for this Chapter, it may be well

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to draw on other sources for some interesting information. Writing also from Prome, on the 4th March, a correspondent * says:—"Captain Latter is out with a small detachment in search of some fellow who is robbing the villagers, levying blackmail, and hindering supplies from being sent into our cantonment from the surrounding country. The detachment consists of 100 men of H. M.'s 80th, with 50 sepoys of the 40th B. N. I, the whole under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Hughes of the former regiment. The whole party is mounted on elephants, which has quite an imposing appearance." At this time the thermometer at Prome ranged as high as 100° in the wooden houses, and 107° in the tents. Within the last few days the Irrawaddy had risen some 8 or 10 inches; the natives said it would continue to do so slowly till it commenced its "great swell" with the rainy season. † The 80th Regiment were in their new barracks, and the indefatigable exertions of Major Fraser were fast "covering the hills with buildings of various descriptions." Notwithstanding the intense heat of the weather the accounts of the health of the troops generally were cheering, from which it would appear, says one authority, "that the cold season is by no

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, March 19, 1853.

† There was every indication of the Irrawaddy commencing to rise again, supposed to be from "the melting of the snows in the mountains where it has its source."—*Correspondent of March 4th.*

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means the most healthy in Burmah, but the contrary." The same could certainly not be said of the health of our soldiers at Prome towards the end of the year 1852; the troops had been very sickly since their arrival; one hundred and forty Europeans of the force had died, and the officer who furnished this information thought with others that Prome was not so healthy a place as it was said to be. Clearing away rubbish, draining, ventilating, white-washing, * and above all paying particular attention to the "drinking water," no doubt added greatly to the increased salubrity of Prome at the beginning of March, and these precautions will always increase the healthfulness of any ordinary position, even though they may fail in making it as pleasant as the Neilgherries or Darjeeling! Amongst the Supplementary Notes at the end of this Work will be found a Meteorological Notice of Burmah, which may interest those who have friends or relatives in this far-off, golden, rainy, sunny land!

* There may be some doubt about this having been adopted, for the best of reasons.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

GOLD.—THE DAWN OF IMPROVEMENT.

LIFE at Tonghoo, about the beginning of March, was at least earnest enough with most of us. Everything seemed to be uncertain, and every one was zealous after his own fashion. The force had moved into excellent barracks, or rather into vacated Poonghee houses*—a magnificent cluster of which, walled in on each side of a straight road, extended from some distance to the Pagoda.

On the 6th Colonel Bogle, Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban provinces, also Captain Berdmore the Deputy Commissioner arrived. Burmese families were every day coming into Tonghoo, and confidence among the people appeared to be rapidly increasing. Towards the middle of the month General Steel received an answer to his communication with General Godwin, and the latter

* Monasteries.

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seemed to be delighted at the successful progress of the Martaban Column. Looking back on this progress it is impossible not to think there was some truth in the prophetic declaration made before we left Martaban, that "the march before this small army will be the greatest undertaking of the whole war, and a measure calculated to tend more than any other to the settlement of the country!" It was General Steel's intention to remain some time longer at Tonghoo. Our companions-in-arms at Shoé-Gyne, perhaps in despair of ever seeing us again, began to make themselves tolerably comfortable in their new quarters. Being in a golden region, and living in a "Golden Age," the spirit of discovery became strong even at Shoé-Gyne,—literally meaning "the Valley of Gold!" In Burmese, *shway* is gold, *and nguay* silver. An officer of the Madras army* wishing to explore the golden regions during his stay at Shoé-Gyne, proceeded with a guide and two or three attendants to visit "the diggings." He arrived late in the evening of the 8th of March 1853 at a small village inhabited by gold diggers, where he passed the night. Next morning the villagers brought him some of the gold they had dug out of the bank of river. He then proceeded on a bamboo raft about three miles up the creek till he came to the village of L——, where he obtained more gold, and being hard pressed for time, he returned to camp the same evening. This was certainly the pursuit of gold

* Captain Wyndham, 5th Regiment M. N. I.

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under difficulties! According to our zealous and gallant friend however, nuggets of gold are found in the bed of the river, and the gold of Shoé-Gyne has yielded "an immense revenue" to the Burmese Government. An article afterwards appeared in a Calcutta paper,* stating that gold existed within 20 miles of the camp at Shoé-Gyne, and that Major Seton of the 1st Fusiliers had actually found specimens embedded in quartz. On this the *Friend of India* was led to remark, "that gold exists in Burmah has long been believed, but it is found also in Assam, and all the efforts of the authorities seem unable to obtain anything like a reliable account of its extent." It is to be feared that this will be the case with Shoé-Gyne; but we imagine the discoveries of the first "digger," above mentioned, to be worthy of serious attention on the part of the authorities. Let us see what Mason in his extraordinary work says about gold in Burmah—"no mineral, except iron, is more universally diffused over the provinces (Tenasserim); it is found in Nilead, near their northern boundary; it is washed from the sands on the south; and the streams that tumble from the high granite mountains between Yé (Yay) and Marmagon are constantly rolling down their golden sands into the vallies around." Dr Royle says that platina is found in Burmah. According to Mason there is likewise "lead rich in silver, copper, manganese," and various minerals. The precious stones

* On the authority of a correspondent of the *Englishman*.

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of Burmah are numerous; the yellow sapphire or Oriental topaz, and the red sapphire or ruby, are well known. But regarding the riches of our new conquest we have read nothing that comes up to the following account, written by an advocate for annexation; perhaps it is a little too highly coloured, but it is impossible not to agree with the writer's political opinions—" with its mines of gold and silver, its stratas of diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, and its inexhaustible forests of teak timber; with a hardy and industrious population, free from prejudices of caste and colour, and with the free navigation of its noble rivers, what may not be expected in a few years under a government like ours. Bassein, Negrais, Prome, Rangoon" (and now may be added Shoé-Gyne and Sitang), " will exhibit the same appearance of life and activity which the Ganges does; the vast regions of Burmah hitherto closed to us, will present a magnificent field for commercial enterprize; the European manufactures and productions will be thrown into them without restraint and reserve, for where security has been established commerce will not fail to follow." With regard to the important article of coal, which causes so much gold —in connection with railways and steamers—to exchange hands at the present day in Europe and America, it too is found in the Tenasserim provinces, though to what extent farther examination is necessary. There is at all events a variety of wood-coal,*

* " Trees turned to stone."—*Mason.*

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and there will always be plenty of wood, which we presume will do very well for the small river steamers.

A slight retrospect is now necessary to observe the dawn of local improvement in our new possessions. By the end of January the measures for laying down the lines of New Rangoon, and making useful arrangements in and around the Port of Bassein had made considerable progress. Of course Rangoon, the future Liverpool of Eastern Asia let us hope, occupied the principal share of attention, and mental as well as local improvement had begun to dawn there in the shape of a newspaper. It was not *The Morning Star*, neither was it the *Dawn of Intelligence*, but a journal with the business-like title of the *Rangoon Chronicle!* * No doubt before long, when a useful education becomes established among the people, periodicals with titles similar to the two excellent papers above mentioned will be published at Rangoon; but the establishment of the *Chronicle*, omitting any opinion as to the look or *conduct* of the paper, was a great literary and commercial fact, and it perfectly justified the *Friend of India's* assertion "that there are two attendants which invariably follow the path of Anglo-Saxon conquest,—the press and taxation!" What two can be more necessary? They are, when discreetly used, the life-blood of the prosperity of the new as well as of the old country. It is the duty of the press to be

* Commenced on the 5th of January 1853.

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highly respectful to, and assist a Government, and we candidly think, on the whole, that in these respects our Indian Press at the present time is second to none in the world.

As early as the 24th of December it had been notified from the Commissioner's Office at Rangoon "that the whole of the land occupied by the town of Rangoon, together with the adjoining suburbs and vacant land, as also both banks of the river, extending from the mouth of the Panlang Creek to the mouth of the Pegu River, is owned by the Government. No building now existing, or which may hereafter be built without sanction from the authorities, will be considered to entitle the occupant to property in the soil they cover. Arrangements are now making for an immediate survey of the town and adjoining country, with the view to a regular plan of the town being laid out." In this new plan some admirable measures were adopted, among the principal of which was that of preserving a margin of at least 100 yards along the river-side free from private building purposes. This "monopoly" of river-side space, which probably extends to the Dalla side, "the Howrah of Rangoon," will probably secure, in the opinion of the *Friend*, our having a city in the East more elegant in appearance than even Calcutta itself, which, however grand time and wealth have made it, is built upon no principle. So then Rangoon has a chance of possessing an elegant river front; and there cannot be a better rule,

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under the circumstances, than that adopted, of allowing no one to build in the town "without official sanction." We should even have a Board to test the ability of the architect! Through the ignorance of some dunce the eye of a man of taste is too frequently tortured for a quarter of a century! There have been few conquests in India about which our countrymen have been so sanguine as to improvement as Pegu; it would become a second Bengal; indigo and cotton in due course of time would enrich many merchants and ruin others; Rangoon would become the dock-yard of Asia;—so with all these events in the future let us hope for the best.

The following announcement of taxation is the next sign of improvement that may be brought forward. Issuing from the Deputy Commissioner's Office on the 26th December 1852, it notified "that on and from the 18th of February 1853, duties upon imports and exports at the Ports of Rangoon and Bassein will be levied according to the tariff now in use at Calcutta." Provisional rules were deposited at the Custom-houses of Rangoon and Bassein. So much, then, for the dawn of improvement! The task must be left to other writers of entering into details concerning what has been set forth in this brief Chapter. The Author must now proceed with the "active" movement of his Narrative, which is, if any trust may be put in the aspect of affairs, fast drawing to a close.

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CHAPTER XIX.

SIR JOHN CHEAPE'S OPERATIONS AGAINST THE CHIEF MYAT-TOON.

THE Robber Chieftain of Donnabew had to all appearance become the Soult of the war. Like the great opponent to our immortal Wellington on more than one occasion in the Peninsula, he kept his ground,—as a matter of course contemplated gigantic enterprises,—and was certainly not to be despised. Were it possible in India or the East to meet with a hostile leader possessing the "firmness, activity, vigour, foresight, grand conceptions, and admirable arrangement"* of Soult, the Indian Army would better deserve the title which has been so graciously bestowed upon it, that of the fighting army of the world! There certainly is no army which has acted with more strictness up to the great Napoleon's maxim, that "an army should always be in a condition to fight," than ours. But not to diverge from the strange comparison brought forward, Myat-Toon

* Napier's *Peninsular War*, Vol. III, p. 322.

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in spite of the want of civilisation, and consequent want of developement of intellectual power, really seemed to possess some of the attributes of Soult. He was determined to remain in his strong jungly position, to force which had proved so fatal to poor Loch and his companions; and perhaps his "grand conception" was, like the chivalrous Bundoola in the last war, that of eventually carrying our General in chains to Ava! Of course the news of the recent disaster speedily reached the palace of the Golden Foot and filled the Golden Ears with a rare delight. Donnabew was the dreaded name which would at length strike terror into the hearts of the English; and Myat-Toon * had been deputed by the authorities in the Buddhistical celestial regions to drive the British "barbarians" into the sea, and prop up the falling Burmese Empire!

With regard to the former proceeding, it was confidently asserted that the Chief did, before the conclusion of Sir John Cheape's operations, send the Commodore a letter saying that if the gallant sailor did not immediately quit the river he would blow him out of the water! On the other hand, our allies the Karens entertained the serious prospect of soon being enabled to forward Myat-Toon's head in salt to the Commissioner or to the General! But he had yet to be driven from his stronghold; and before relating the Brigadier-General's operations

* Meeah-Toon or Mya-Toon; but the above mode of spelling is used in the Despatch.

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it may be interesting to take a slight retrospect, in which will be found a few events not yet mentioned in this Narrative.

At a time (May 1852,) when Captains Niblett and Brooking, of the *Phlegethon* and *Proserpine* steamers, were probably burning—like some of Her Majesty's Navy—with the ambitious desire of bringing the war to a speedy termination by what has been humourously styled "doing a little of 'Lord Cochrane,'" or simply shelling the Golden Emperor in his palace from the river off Ava, the former vessel during her trip up the river went 20 miles above Donnabew. No fortifications were found at the position so celebrated in the Military narratives; there was merely the town and the remains of the work destroyed in the last war. * The science of Burmese warfare which here, under Maha-Bundoola, had been of no despicable nature, had given place to the more profitable glories of dacoity. During the trips of the *Phlegethon* dacoits were roving about, plundering and murdering, shooting men, women, and children; in short, whoever came in their way. Many of the inhabitants who were friendly to us and anxious to know if the country was to be annexed, came down with the steamer, but during their progress were fired on from the banks of the river. Three women were shot. The Chief

* Surrendered to the British Army under Major-General Sir A. Campbell, K. C. B., on the 2d of April 1825, after the death of Maha-Bundoola.

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of the party, it was said, went to Captain Niblett and begged he would lend him a dozen muskets or so, and they would land and capture these terrible marauders. The fire-arms were lent; the allies landed, killed four or five of the dacoits and captured the Rob Roy of the party, "whom they tied to a tree and shot through the head."

Towards the end of the year it was generally known that the notorious bandit chief Myat-Toon, also another, by name Shway-Ban, were but 30 or 40 miles distant, in the vicinities of Rangoon and Dalla. Myat-Toon had burned down Donnabew and Zaloon, and many other villages. Two other Chiefs it was believed were along with him; and he ruled over a desperate army of 7,000 men. Shway-Ban had a smaller force of 2,000. For the last six months these skilful Sivas had been rushing forth like fiery torrents on the country, destroying everything in their course. Myat-za, a Karen chieftain, came into Rangoon about the middle of November and asked assistance to repel Shway-Ban who hovered about to the west of Dalla, but he was told very properly that he must protect himself; so collecting about 700 men of his tribe, he armed them after the fashion of the country, and soon captured upwards of 30 robbers, three of whom he executed on the spot, and sent in the rest to Rangoon. It is pleasant to record such energy on the part of a Karen chief! It is just probable that soon after these proceedings Myat-Toon retired to his village and the various

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fastnesses near Donnabew; which town is situated on the left in going up the Irrawaddy, and consequently on the right bank of the river, and not on its left as some maps have placed it.

We do not read of any defeat of Myat-Toon by Karen chiefs or others; he seems to have been regarded as *Fra Diavola* of his vicinity, striking terror into the hearts of innocent men and helpless women. He was doubtless thus employed, in addition to having dethroned a governor who had been elected by the people at Donnabew, when the steamer *Phlegethon*, with gun-boats, and a party of seamen and marines arrived to attack him and his band. A boat expedition was made up a creek, where we met with a repulse, the particulars of which may here be given. First, it may be stated however, that in December 1852 Captain Hewett, I. N., of the *Moozuffer*, with the steam-frigate's boats and those of H. M's. Ship *Fox*, had surprised a party of 3,000 Burmese at Pantanno, killing numbers, and among the rest a Chief's son, or some such person of distinction. For anything we know to the contrary the party then defeated belonged to Myat-Toon. There could be little doubt who was the directing Chief on the present occasion of our repulse.

On the 16th of January an attack was made on Pantanno, and the place as formerly—when Hewett commanded—carried with little loss.

On the morning of the 17th the advance was made up the very creek into which Captain Hewett had

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thought it rashness to venture. Two boats could not pull abreast in it; the banks were low and covered with jungle, with stakes driven into the river, and trees across to "bar the passage." The boats had only proceeded a few miles when from each bank came a volley of musketry; several men fell; the fire became "hotter and hotter," till at length the boats were driven back with the loss of 12 killed and wounded, including among the latter one officer of the *Moozuffer*, Lieutenant Mitcheson, I.N., severely. On this occasion the expedition was about 180 strong.*

* It may be well to give here, in the form of a Note, some details—notwithstanding they differ in a few respects from other accounts—regarding the Naval party under Commander Rennie, I. N., of the *Zenobia*, who made such successful attacks on the enemy to the satisfaction of the Commodore, as they form "a good set-off to the Pantanno and Donnabew business." The following notes are with reference to Chapter XV, page 225:—"Rennie arrived at Bassein on the 19th of January. On the 21st he started in the boats (about 86 strong), with 10 officers, towed by the *Nemesis*. On the 23d, at 6 A. M., he reached the enemy's outposts, who pushed on to their stronghold; he there landed four small field pieces which he took with him, and marched 16 miles across country, about eight miles from the back of Donnabew—how close he must have been to the scene of poor Loch's subsequent disaster!—came suddenly on the Burmese about 1,200 strong; drove them before him, killing one chief and five men. The successful Commander attacked a larger force a little higher up the river. At daylight on the 30th, he, with two field pieces, found himself directly in front of some 3,000 armed Burmese who came on boldly. Captain Rennie (having his men perfectly in hand) waited his time, and when the enemy were within 50 yards opened a terrific fire

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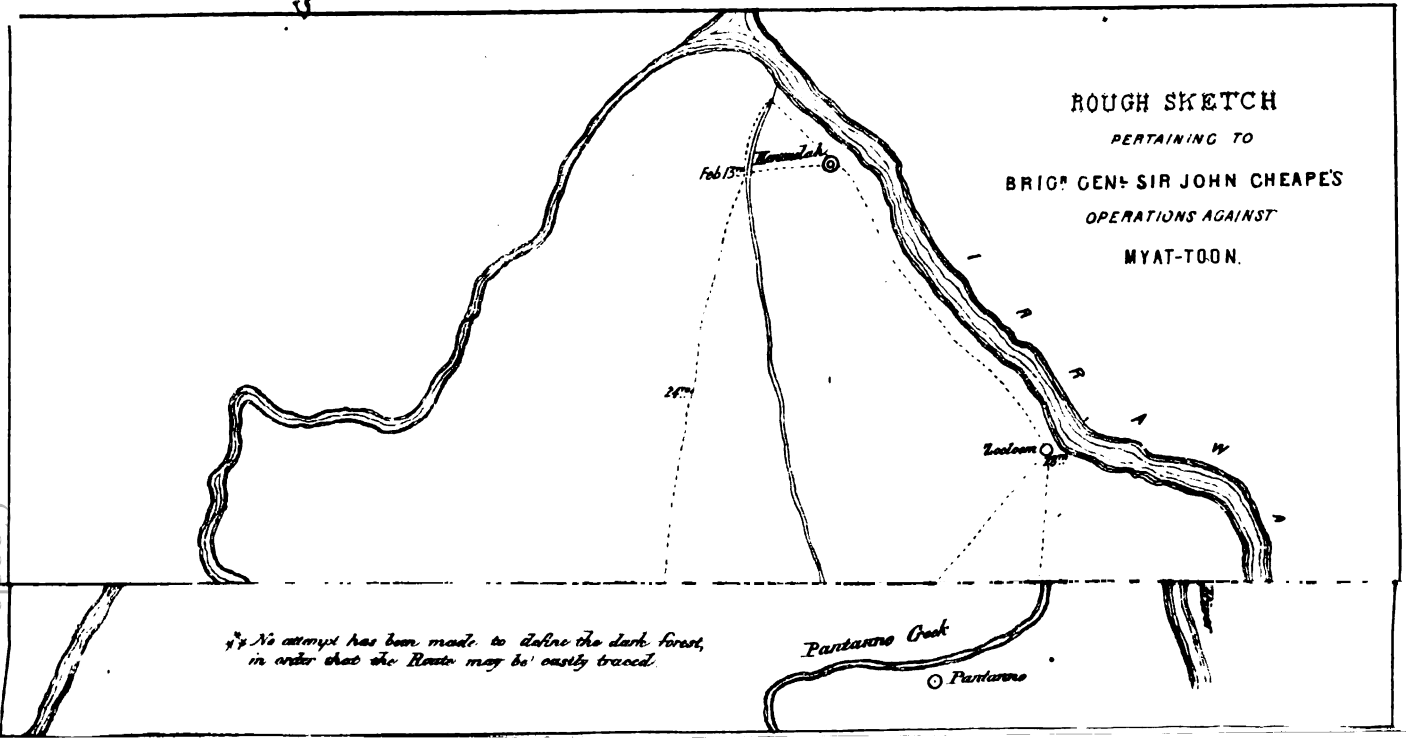

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Having thus finished an imperfect retrospect of events connected with Myat-Toon previous to the disaster near Donnabew, recorded in a previous Chapter of this Narrative, let us proceed to relate more decisive and satisfactory operations, yet those darkened by the ever-floating shadows of disease and death!

On the 18th of February Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K.C.B., left Prome to proceed against the robber-chief Myat-Toon, near Donnabew. He took with him the following detachments composed of the most healthy men of the different regiments: —200 of H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish under Major Wigston; 200 of H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. I. under Captain Irby; the Rifle Company of the 67th B. N. I. under Captain Hicks; 200 of the 4th Sikh Locals under Major Armstrong; some 70 Sappers and Miners under Lieutenants Mullins and Trevor; and two guns—a 24-pounder howitzer and a 9-pounder of the light field battery—under Major Reid, with Lieutenants Ashe and Dobbin, all three of the Bengal Artillery; there were also some rocket-tubes, served by a small party of dismounted Madras Horse Artil-

with grape and cannister, and went right at them; the enemy then turned and fled leaving 48 killed; 50 prisoners, numbers, of them wounded, were taken; the Chief's two sons were found to be severely wounded: Besides men, six iron 12-pounder guns and three golden umbrellas (standards) were captured by the gallant "blue-jackets."—Bravo the Indian Navy! but here Rennie had the advantage of seeing his enemy, which poor Loch had not.

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lerymen, under Conductor Lesby, with Lieutenant Magrath of the latter arm.

Sir John landed and collected his force at Henzadah on the Irrawaddy, a position some 35 miles north of Donnabew—determining to start against Myat-Toon's stronghold from this quarter. Henzadah is large and populous, and here a vast number of hackeries (carts) were procurable. From information gained through the Commissioner, Sir John was led to expect that he could reach Myat-Toon's position in three or four days, then march into Donnabew, and embark again in the steamers. The force, having been joined by Captain Singleton, H. M.'s 51st, and all sickly men left behind, started on the evening of the 22d, taking seven or eight days' provisions with them. On the 26th the General found himself, as he believed, still at a considerable distance from the Chief's stronghold. Provisions running short, and without any knowledge of the country between, save a nullah reported unfordable, Sir John determined to regain the river; he accordingly made a flank movement to Zooloom, where the force arrived on the afternoon of the 28th, after a very tedious and harassing march. The enemy had only shown themselves twice, on one of which occasions they fired from the opposite side of a nullah and wounded two men of the 51st K. O. L. I. The steamers having been warned, they came up to Zooloom and received the greater part of the troops on board. On the morning of the 1st March the

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force was joined by a small detachment of the Ramghur Irregular Cavalry, under Lieutenant Graham, which body had followed Sir John from Prome, but did not arrive at Henzadah till after the General had started. The steamers left about 11 A. M. for Donnabew. The empty carts and the horses of the battery were escorted down to Donnabew by 100 of the Royal Irish, 100 Sikhs, and the detachment of Irregular Cavalry, the convoy being under charge of Captain Armstrong, 18th R. I. It arrived safely at its destination on the morning of the 3d of March.

About two miles before reaching Donnabew Captain Smith, the Deputy Commissioner, was told by a Poonghee that there was a Burmese picquet in a house which he pointed out. Captain Smith in consequence took three or four sowars and sepoys along with him, surrounded the house, and succeeded in capturing three men. These prisoners afterwards acted as guides to the expedition. The Pagoda of Donnabew stands on the river side, and with the exception of three or four Poonghee houses some three quarters of a mile distant, not a house, not even an inhabitant of any description was to be seen. The town, as has been already observed, had been burned down by Myat-Toon and his destructive band, who had probably determined that while the English remained in the country "Stormy Donnabew," as a town or military position, should not stand. Here Sir John Cheape resolved to wait

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for the reinforcements which were expected from Rangoon. The Europeans lived in the flats and steamers, and the native troops inside the Pagoda. This prudent delay on the part of the General was no doubt occasioned by the reflection that Myat-Toon's position was an exceedingly strong one. He was by no means to be despised; nor was his stronghold to be assailed in an incautious and hasty manner. He had the discipline and power of Mother Nature on his side against the regular training of a British force! Coolness and judgment were consequently required at this juncture against such an enemy as the Chief Myat-Toon.

Upwards of forty years ago, during Massena's invasion of Portugal, when Lord Wellington was endeavouring to drive sense into the heads of the Portuguese Government, he said to them "I have little doubt of final success, but I have fought a sufficient number of battles to know that the result of any is not certain even with the best arrangements."* In like manner probably argued Sir John on the present minor occasion.

On the 6th a party of recruits, 130 strong, of H. M.'s 80th, under the command of Major Holdich, 300 men of the 67th B. N. I. under Colonel Sturt, two mortars under Lieutenant Percival, B. A., and a large supply of commissariat stores under the charge of Lieutenant Mackellar, Madras Commissariat, arrived.

* Napier's *Peninsular War*.

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Everything being now ready, including two rafts prepared by the Sappers—the barrels composing them having been brought from Rangoon—the General issued an order for the force to start at two P. M. on the 7th instant. All the sick being left at Donnabew, and some few men to garrison the place, the party now consisted of about 500 Europeans, 500 Natives, two guns of the light field battery, three rocket-tubes, and two mortars, with the detachment of Irregular Horse and 70 Sappers. Being now assured that three days would bring them in front of Myat-Toon's stronghold, they started, as ordered, at two P. M. on the 7th, taking six or seven days' provisions with them. The right wing under Major Wigston, consisting of the detachments of H. M.'s 18th and 80th regiments, with the 4th Sikhs in front; then came the guns, followed by the Irregular Cavalry, rocket-tubes, and mortars. The left wing, consisting of detachments of H. M.'s 51st and the 67th B. N. I., was under the command of Colonel Sturt. The direction taken by the force was almost due west. After proceeding three miles the advanced guard surprised a small picquet, and shot two of the enemy. About five P. M. the Column reached Akyo and the bank of a broad nullah, at least 130 yards wide. This was seven miles from Donnabew. Here the enemy opened a fire of jingals and musketry, but our guns came to the front and silenced them for a time. The troops passed the night behind a belt of jungle parallel to the nullah; and although

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the Burmese dropped in shots all night, occasionally replied to by our rockets, only two men were slightly wounded. On the 8th, about nine A. M., the rafts having been put together by the Sappers, and the fog clearing off, a party of the 51st and Rifles were thrown across the nullah. A little firing took place, but no casualties occurred. All this day was occupied in crossing the guns and baggage, which operation was not concluded till late at night. The fogs being particularly heavy at this season in this part of the country, and not clearing up till near nine A. M., the force generally breakfasted before starting. On the 9th they left at the above hour, when a few shots were fired in front. At mid-day our troops came opposite a few houses; the Burmese were said to be in them. Guns drawn up and all ready, a party was sent forward to make them show themselves; but not a vestige of either friend or foe was to be seen there! It was now said to be the wrong road; the guide was flogged, sent to the rear, and another one called up to take his place. The new guide turned to the left, and after a most tedious round, under a glaring sun, brought the wearied troops back to the identical spot from which they had started! Here was provocation enough to try the temper of the most forbearing. While dwelling on this incident one is apt to recal to memory a story related by Admiral Sir Charles Napier in his Travels in Syria, of a guide who would not do his duty. Seizing hold of the miscreant he declared if he did

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not proceed on his way forthwith, "by the beard of the Prophet" he would send a bullet through his head! after which the guide sullenly took the lead. On the present occasion the first guide should have been under the charge of the gallant Admiral, and probably there would have been no occasion for a second. To proceed—a halt was made in the village for two hours; but Major Cotton was sent on with 200 men to the nullah where the force intended to encamp at Kyomtano. It was about a mile farther on; and on his arrival he succeeded in surprising a party of Burmese, drove them across the nullah, followed them in dashing style, and killed eight of them without losing a man. On the arrival of the troops in the evening, a small party of Burmese showed themselves from the jungles on the left; the guns opened on them, and they soon disappeared. These men came down next morning under cover of the fog and fired into the camp. The nullah here was about 50 yards wide. A sort of bridge was made by connecting the rafts with planks, and with the assistance of an old boat found in the nullah, the greater part of the troops and all the baggage passed over. The bridge was then broken up, and the guns taken across on the rafts; the empty hackeries were driven into the water and swam over beautifully. Every thing was across and the rafts packed again by five P. M.

On the 11th the force started at the usual hour. Every one now expected to reach Myat-Toon's posi-

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tion that day. They had not proceeded two miles when Lieutenant Clarke of the 67th N. I. and one of the Rifles were wounded on a small patch of cleared ground, and the rear-guard were attacked by a strong party in the long grass. Lieutenant Johnson commanding the guard, seeing that firing was useless, charged into the jungle and dispersed the Burmese. The rear-guard on this occasion lost one sepoy killed, and one private and six sepoys wounded. From the spot where Clarke was wounded the road entered the thick forest; the Burmese had only to throw down a tree or two with their usual tact in such matters, and a completely new road would have to be cut round the obstacle. This they had done in several places; there was consequently very hard work, particularly for the Sappers, and the advance was very slow. Shortly after entering the forest a small breastwork was taken, where one man was wounded; another breastwork was passed, but it was undefended. About two P. M. the Burmese disappeared from the front, and the road was unobstructed. The force crossed a piece of water about four P. M., and shortly after the advance found that the road turned into a footpath. Every one was now tired out,—man and beast thoroughly fatigued from this wearisome pursuit of the crafty Chief; the Artillery horses were staggering in their harness. Sir John determined to encamp on the spot, there being water a short distance a-head. The hackeries as they came up were either pushed right and left into the jungle or

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remained on the road. The troops lay down on each side, and it was dark long before the whole of the carriage was up. Not a fire was lighted, and the night passed away quietly. Cholera made its first appearance in camp this night, and one of the wounded Sikhs died. Myat-Toon's place was said to be only two miles to the left, but there was no road between. The guide who had committed himself on the 9th, and who was now with the rear-guard, had pointed out a spot shortly after passing the first breastwork where he declared the road to Myat-Toon's position diverged to the left. Unfortunately there was no one to take advantage of this information, and his statement might not have found credit, though it was afterwards proved to be correct. We believe the Commissioner, Captain Smith, informed Sir John this same morning that he did not know the road, and had no means of gaining information. A feeling of despondency, a despair of success, with one or more, began to arise! But Sir John tempered his energy to the occasion, and was determined to persevere! Myat-Toon was not the man to keep back the Engineer of Moultan and the Artilleryman of Goojerat! The force retraced its steps on the morning of the 12th without rations having been served out, the rear of yesterday moving in front today. On passing the spot where the road branched off there were serious thoughts of still advancing on Myat-Toon; but provisions were failing again, so it was thought prudent to return to Kyomtano and

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wait for a supply. Several cases of cholera occurred on the road. On the 13th Colonel Sturt, with all the hackeries and some 300 men, went into Donnabew for provisions.* Meanwhile the troops were put on half-rations. This was a sad day in camp, no less than 13 deaths from cholera having taken place.

The force remained here until the 16th, when Colonel Sturt returned with 10 or 12 days' provisions. The Burmese had fired a few shots into camp every night, but fortunately without hitting any one. At two P. M. on the 17th, the right wing under Major Wigston, 18th R. I., were sent on the old road, and again captured the breastwork, which had been much strengthened, with the loss of one officer and five men wounded. A prisoner and two brass jingals was taken on this occasion. This prisoner was of some use in the further advance of the force in describing and pointing out the enemy's position.† On the 18th, at daybreak, the rest of the force started, leaving the sick and surplus provisions with a detachment under Lieutenant Dickson of the 51st, in a small stockade at Kyomtano. The party joined the right wing at the breastwork, and the sick and wounded of Major Wigston's party were sent back to Kyomtano; the Column continued their march, the left wing, under Colonel Sturt, in front, till they came to another breastwork about

* The sick and wounded were sent in along with him.

† Sir John Cheape's Despatch, dated Donnabew, 25th March 1853, Appendix No. XIII.

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four P.M. This work was gallantly carried by H. M.'s 51st K.O.L.I. and the 67th B.N.I., Captain Singleton of the former regiment leading the advance. Ensign Boileau of the 67th fell while gallantly attacking the enemy on the left bank. On this occasion our loss was one officer and one sepoy of the 67th killed, and one Ensign of the 51st and six sepoys of the 67th wounded. At five P.M. the force encamped by a piece of water about a mile further on, cholera raging in camp. At seven A.M. on the 19th, the General was advancing with his troops, the right wing in front. Having gone a mile out, the enemy were found in a breastwork on the opposite side of the nullah, or at the head of the piece of water on the right, along the edge of which the road lay.* Under the circumstances Sir John deemed it the safest plan to get at the enemy as speedily as possible.

THE ACTION OF THE 19TH.

Supported by the guns and rockets, the General now resolved to carry the breastwork on the right. H. M.'s 80th formed the advanced guard, followed by the Sappers clearing the road.

On coming opposite the enemy's left flank the firing commenced. The rockets were advanced and opened fire. The Sikhs were sent on to support the 80th; and the 18th Royal Irish in support of them.

The Sappers worked admirably, and the guns were shortly got into position and opened a well

* See Despatch, Appendix No. XIII.

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directed fire, which gradually became very heavy on both sides, and it was reported to Sir John that Major Wigston was wounded. On reaching the front he found also that Major Armstrong of the Sikh Corps was wounded, and many other Officers and men. The fire of the enemy on the path leading up to the breastwork was so heavy that "the advanced party had not succeeded in carrying it." Lieutenant Johnson, the only remaining officer of the 4th Sikh Regiment, persevered most bravely, which only increased the loss. H. M.'s 80th and the Sikhs now hoped to get round the extreme right of the enemy, but thick jungle and strong abattis prevented the men from making their way through. At this point the 18th Royal Irish came up. The fire of musketry and grape was so heavy that they got scattered, and sustained great loss. Lieutenant Cockburn of this distinguished corps was severely wounded. Major Holdich of H. M.'s 80th was now in command of the right wing. Dense smoke, a very heavy fire, and the deadly breastwork yet to be assailed, there was some difficulty in Sir John acting up to Napoleon's advice to Massena before the battle of Busaco; "*attack vigorously after having observed well where to strike!*" At length the General did ascertain what was between our men and the breastwork. He discovered that there was no water, and no obstacle of any importance to be encountered, provided the troops could pass through the enemy's fire, a distance of some 30 yards. Now

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the resolution to attack vigorously was at its full height. The "assembly" brought as many of the right wing together as possible. In the meantime Major Reid of the Bengal Artillery gallantly brought up a 24-pounder howitzer—the men of the 51st assisting to drag the gun along, and opened an effectual fire on the enemy at a range of not more than 25 yards. Being in a much exposed position, as was to be expected the gallant Major was almost immediately wounded, after which Lieutenant Ashe kept up the fire of the gun in the most spirited manner. This was dangerous firing for our Artillery, but the cannister from that gem of field pieces, at such a range, must have been terribly effective! At this crisis, while the Burmese were doing sad havoc with their musketry, and working their masked battery with decided effect, it is highly probable that no other means available could have been nearly so instrumental in striking terror into the determined hearts of the enemy as this artillery fire! It came as a splendid harbinger of the final charge which, in spite of all resistance, was to drive the Chieftain from his stronghold! The right wing being much weakened from the loss they had sustained, and on account of the number of men required as skirmishers, Sir John ordered a reinforcement from the left. These were joined by the men of the right wing that had been collected by Major Holdich, and were led by Ensign Wolsely of H. M.'s 80th. To use the General's own words,

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"the whole advanced in a manner that nothing could check." The fire was severe, and Lieutenant Taylor, 9th M. N. I., doing duty with H. M.'s 51st., fell mortally wounded; Ensign Wolsely was also struck down, and many other gallant soldiers. The breastwork was immediately carried; the enemy fled in confusion, except those who stood to be shot or bayoneted by the men. British courage had now overcome in the midst of dense forest and jungle all natural difficulties, as in more civilised countries it had so often gloriously conquered all artificial ones, and the entire defeat of the Chieftain Myat-Toon was now to be ranked among the most important events of the war! Our loss was severe. Eleven bodies were buried on the spot, and nine Officers and 75 men were wounded in this well-fought action of the 19th of March, which lasted about two hours. "Lieutenant Trevor of the Engineers, with Corporal Livingstone and Private Preston, of H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. I., first entered the enemy's breastwork, the two former each shooting down one of the enemy opposing their entrance. The lead devolved on them and on Sergeant Preston of H. M.'s 51st, and Sergeant-Major Quin of H. M.'s 80th, when Lieutenant Taylor, Ensign Wolsely, and Colour-Sergeant Donnahoe fell in the advance."* The two guns which had been lost by the unfortunate expedition at the beginning of February were now recaptured. The Burmese had been firing with them

* Sir John Cheape's Despatch, Appendix, No. XIII.

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at our troops with deadly effect. In the opinion of the General and others they were well served to the last. In attempting to carry off one of them 12 of the enemy were killed by a discharge from our 9-pounder gun. The enemy sustained a heavy loss in killed and wounded; the only drawback to Sir John's complete triumph was the escape of the Chief with a few followers. It is improbable that he would go to Ava after such a defeat, or out of his own vicinity be again able to collect forces to resist our power. "His whole force and means," writes Sir John, "were concentrated on this position, and I imagine he must have had about 4,000 men in these breastworks, which extended 1,200 yards in length."

Let us now resume our private notes, kindly furnished by an Officer engaged in the operations, and which were abandoned on commencing to relate the Action of the 19th, the greater part of the details of which have been drawn from Sir John's despatch, and to a large portion of this important document (No. XIII of the Appendix) the reader is referred for much interesting information.

After the action a party was sent on immediately to Kyoukazeen, Myat-Toon's own village. Neither in this, nor in a village passed on the road to it, was a single person to be seen. Both villages, situated on the Pantanno creek, might be distant three quarters of a mile from each other. Colonel Sturt, with part of the 67th, and all the commissariat, remained in the

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first village; the rest of the force, with all the wounded, proceeded to Kyoukazeen. Captain Fytche, Deputy Commissioner of the Bassein district, joined about mid-day at the first village.

On the 20th Captain Tarleton arrived with some gun-boats, having with his accustomed energy and perseverance cut through the obstructions thrown into the creek for a distance of 15 miles. Some 900 boats, crowded with people who had been kept in subjection by Myat-Toon, passed down the creek! In this affecting incident alone was to be found an argument against those who, be it just or unjust, affect to shudder at the very name of war! Some thousands of our fellow-creatures were now relieved from captivity and oppression; and it may be doubted whether all the wordy speeches of the Peace Societies will ever do as much! War we all know is an evil, but it is a necessary one; and, as in the above incident, out of it does come good; Providence it would seem has placed it amongst the machinery which governs this wonderful world of ours, and it cannot be removed altogether to suit the selfishness of a party. Were our life not what Byron styles "a false nature," it might be otherwise. It certainly "is not in the harmony of things, this hard decree!" But as long as there are opposing interests in the world, as long as there are countries to bring within the pale of enlightenment and civilisation, there must and will be war! Governments therefore should always be prepared for it, which preparation

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may either promote a Nation's glory, or secure a Nation's peace.

On the 21st Lieutenant Cockburn, 18th R. I. was buried, having died of his wounds the previous evening. All the sick and wounded, with the guns, were sent down in boats to the steamers lying in the creek. Lieutenant Williams, Adjutant of the 67th B. N. I., who had been seized with cholera on the 19th, died on board. The bad cases of this terrible scourge were sent to Rangoon direct, the others to Donnabew and Prome. On the 22d the force was ordered to return. Four P. M. was the appointed hour to march; but at two the village, (Kyoukazeen,) extending nearly three quarters of a mile on the side where the troops were encamped, caught fire. Sir John, who lived on the opposite side, was enabled to cross with difficulty, and not without being scorched. The fire spread with the utmost rapidity, burning even the boats on the nullah. Captain Garden, Assistant-Quartermaster-General, and one or two others, were obliged to swim across. It was most fortunate that the sick, the guns and ammunition, as also the Commissariat in the other village, had been sent away. Great confusion reigned for some time, the calamity of fire always producing "confusion worse confounded," but eventually all were collected in Colonel Sturt's camp. The force marched to Kyomtano the same evening.

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On the 23d a nullah was crossed and into Akyo. On the 24th another nullah was crossed, and into Donnabew. The troops were embarked and returned to Prome, leaving a detachment in the pagoda of Donnabew.

In these operations against Myat-Toon upwards of 140 of our troops were killed and wounded, (including three Officers killed, and severely wounded,) and upwards of 100 died of cholera, making the total of casualties up to nearly 250.* This was severe work every one will admit, but only those who have had some experience in jungle warfare can know of the sufferings frequently to be endured, and the vast difficulties to be overcome; no soldier likes to be shot at without a chance of immediately returning it, he raises his piece at trees and jungle, and perhaps another shot tells him to desist. Then may come want of provisions, want of rest, and pestilence, too often not to be avoided on

* With reference to Chapter XVI, "The Disaster near Donnabew," we afterwards found that the highest number given of men killed and wounded amounted to 88, of whom 15 were killed. It was not mentioned that Lieutenant Bushnell of the *Winchester*, and Lieutenant Glover of the *Sphynx*, were severely wounded, as were Messrs Hinde and Wilson, mates of the *Winchester*. An account since received says, scarcely had the guides done speaking, when a tremendous fire was opened on the party; Lieutenant Kennedy, 1st of the *Fox*, was shot dead, as also several men. Captain Loch then waved his sword and shouted to the men to follow him; others say he was calling on his men to "try the bayonet," when he fell mortally wounded, the ball driving the case of his watch into his body.

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such expeditions,—and such in jungle warfare are the shadows of a soldier's life! A glorious light of it had now been shared by many in the final charge at the enemy in the breastwork, with the irresistible British bayonet! In the operations just related two wants appear to have been predominant,—the want of correct information regarding the whereabouts of the enemy, and the want of a proper quantity of provisions at the required time. Why not more provisions? Simply because, even had sufficient carriage been available, it would not have been prudent in a General to have started in an unknown forest with a long line of Commissariat hackeries, which, had the enemy sent thieves or skirmishers into the jungle, it would have taken half his force to defend. It was therefore sufficient to take a fair quantity of provisions, relying, as the distances could not be great, on the talents of his guides, who appear to have been arrant knaves and honest men by turns. Apparently there is no fault to find with the conduct of this expedition against Myat-Toon; on the contrary, Sir John Cheape is to be praised for the manner in which it was conducted. Throughout the operations he appears to have displayed coolness, energy, and prudence, with compassion for his wounded and suffering soldiers; and these are qualities which must be found in an eminent degree, *under all circumstances*, in him who would be a great General!

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CHAPTER XX.

NOTES AT TONGHOO, ON THE FRONTIER.

TOWARDS the end of March a letter reached Tonghoo from Prome, intimating that the accredited agents from Ava were expected on the 21st; but, as long ere that time the Golden authorities had no doubt heard of the Donnabew disaster, and the bravery of Myat-Toon, the thought was entertained that there would be no peace yet! They might possibly change their minds when they heard of Sir John Cheape's operations against the Chief. Our frontier life was now becoming one of extreme uncertainty as to future movements. Was the Martaban Column, after all its labours, to stand fast and simply be ready to repel some Burmese Attila or some Tartar Genseric, who, with fierce races like the Huns and Vandals, might seek to destroy the civilisation we had begun to establish, while the Prome Column marched under General Godwin to the very gates of Ava, a spherical case shot from an 8-inch howitzer announcing his

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arrival! No, this would never do! Man cannot remain even for a short time inactive. But here there was no help for him; and if he could not find any thing to do, it was natural to content himself by observing what others were doing. A Shan camp appeared not far distant from the ancient walls of Tonghoo. These descendants of Magog—it is presumed they are such—originally from Chinese Tartary,* or it may be, leaving the country of Japheth and proceeding to the more southern possessions of Shem;—these descendants of Shem who inhabited the mighty region of Thibet, from whose mountains the Burmese are said eventually to have poured down;—these descendants of what Patriarch you will, who flourished after the flood when "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech," are apt to strike one as carrying a strange interest along with them, retaining as they do much of that simplicity in habits which was peculiar to the elder world. They had some very fine bullocks, with other merchandise, which they were about to expose for sale in the Moulmein market. The import trade from the Shan States—which lie along the eastern frontier of Northern Burmah, into the capital of the Tenasserim Provinces—not long ago consisted of cattle (cows and bullocks), elephants, ponies, gold leaf, lacquered

* The Tartars to this day are a wild and wandering race, living in encampments of moveable tents, which they carry from place to place. The Shans may have been a more civilised tribe, fond of traffic.

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boxes, cotton cloth, and other valuable articles of traffic, amounting annually to little less than rupees 320,000, (L.32,000,) while about a lakh of rupees worth (L.10,000) of our manufactures found their way to them. There are Siamese Shans and Burmese Shans, the former having no affection for the latter; but both we believe to be equally hostile to the throne of Ava. Independence seems to be the ruling principle of all the Shans. We read, not long ago, a sensible opinion, that a good understanding should exist between the British Indian Government and the Shan States with regard to reciprocal acts of accommodation and courtesy. Zimmay had thrown off its allegiance to Ava and boasted a considerable army, including 250 elephants; the writer therefore thought the political connection between us and the Shan States should be placed on some sure footing.

It must ever be recollected that the Shans under the Court of Ava fought bravely against us in the last war;* and we doubt not that the Indian Government and that of our new Province have already given the subject of a sure understanding with them their earnest attention. Siam† too is getting on apace. Among the late acts of its gallant and en-

* For instance at Wattegaun in November 1825. The Shans, forming 15,000 men of the Burmese army, were very fine troops.

† Siam stretches from the 5th to the 21st degree of North latitude, and 97° to 105° East longitude, thus giving a maximum length of 560, by a breadth of 1120 miles. Population not 4,000,000, although this immense territory is far larger than

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terprising King was that of enjoining on his nobles and subjects the propriety of following his example, and confining themselves to one wife! After such a strange proceeding on the part of an Eastern Prince—such a stride towards civilisation—we must not be surprised if, from the ardent desire of learning more from Europeans, by becoming our neighbours, we find Northern Burmah at some future period in the possession of Siam and the Shans!

It has been suggested by Indian journalists that great advantages would arise to British commerce from an uninterrupted traffic with the interior of China, through the co-operation of China and Shan merchants. Captain M'Leod in 1837 found among the northerly Shan States numerous Chinese merchants settled in Kieng Lung, the frontier Shan Province, said to be tributary to Pekin. These merchants were desirous of opening a traffic with us; but they desired the presence of British merchants, to whom both they and the Shan Chiefs promised protection from extortion, as well as every security for their persons. "They dealt in silks,—raw and manufactured, copper utensils, lace, tinsel, and fancy articles, which they bartered for such English goods as made their way upwards." In a few years therefore we may find English shops in

Bengal Proper. The Siamese, according to Malloch, are very slothful "sleeping 14 hours out of the 24, and resigning all active labour to their wives"! But we believe them to be active and brave when they please.

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the Chinese towns of the frontier. The fact would appear to be quite as probable as that of the year 1853 beholding an "Europe Shop" in Kashmere,* Moore's glowing "valley of bliss,"

"With its roses the sweetest that earth ever gave!"

or the splendid sight of 50 Parsee ladies riding in a special train upon the rail from Bombay to Tannah, both of which events do now adorn its annals! Comfort, and civilisation, and science! Oh England, England, you have much to answer for! your enterprise alone should absolve you, and does in the eyes of the intelligent world, from all your follies!

To return to the Shans. We know not if they differ much from the Burmese in their general manners and customs, and suppose—not having the work here—that Blumenbach includes them both in the Mongolian variety; but their women differ considerably in dress from the ladies of Burmah,—the Shan wearing her head covered with a rich turband, also a sort of jacket, with loose flowing silk trousers, reminding one of the dress given by some painters to the "amorous dame of Potiphar!" The men generally wear large straw hats.

The Karens, frequently alluded to in this Narrative, occupy parts of the Shan and Siamese coun-

* The *Lahore Chronicle* notices that a Mahommedan tradesman has just opened an "Europe Shop" in Kashmere. "There will be an English 'Millinery Depôt' in Pekin before the century is out."—*Friend of India.*

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tries. The country of the Red Karens lies considerably to the northward of Tonghoo; and into this district it is said the line will be drawn from Meeaday or above it, marking out the new British territory in Eastern Asia.

Commodore Lambert and Captain Phayre left Rangoon on the 19th of March for Prome, which they hoped to reach in good time to sign the treaty. They afterwards visited Meeaday in the *Indus* steamer, it was believed to settle the question of peace—in view to which the embassy from Ava had been waiting in the precincts of that place for several days. They had no doubt been waiting to hear the result of Sir John Cheape's operations. The Commodore and Captain Phayre however returned on the 30th, without accomplishing their object; we believe the objection being that Meeaday did not belong to the Pegu Province, which alone was to be annexed, according to the Proclamation.

On the 31st the Burmese Commissioners arrived at Prome in great state, accompanied by 25 war-boats; the potentates as a matter of course being in the full pomp and circumstance of Burmese diplomatic craft. They were said to be accompanied by upwards of 1,000 men. Be this as it may, it would appear that half of their establishment was wanting on the 4th of April, the day set apart for the grand meeting between the Burmese and British Commissioners.

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It may be interesting to note the following graphic account * of this meeting, the best for curious detail which has yet appeared:—"The Burmese Commissioners were each furnished with a guard of honour to escort them to the Hall of Audience—a bamboo edifice erected for the occasion,—and a guard of honour, composed of 200 men from all foot regiments, was drawn up on the shore by 9½ A. M. to receive the Burmese Envoys, who were encamped a quarter of a mile up on the opposite bank of the river. The *Sesostris* fired a salute; the Golden boats, and the Golden umbrellas opening out to view had a very pretty effect. There were 12 boats, three of them gilt. The Prime Minister's boat had gilt oars, and each boat had about 40 oars which were paddled in excellent time. An Officer from the *Sesostris*, in a gig, led the way, and they landed at the foot of a street, formed by the guard of honour, through which they marched. The Prime Minister was dressed in a most absurdly grotesque style, with a hat of gold resembling a pagoda, with little bells, or some such tinkling affairs hanging to it; his dress appeared to consist of a series of wings, with a body-dress of rich green and scarlet velvet, with precious stones in abundance. He walked hand-in-hand with a Prince of the Blood Royal—probably the uncle of the present King—and behind them came the umbrella-bearers holding four or five golden umbrellas

* Dated Prome, April 6.

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over them. Preceding these dignitaries of the Court of Ava, were two commonly dressed Burmese, with yellow fancy-shaped hàts, bearing common bamboos in their hands; then came four or five men of their body-guard, holding in their hands beautiful dāhs, the scabbards of which were of gold and richly studded with rubies. In rear of the two great men came two minor individuals, one the Dalla-Woon—who was at Rangoon at the breaking out of the war, and who was even then most anxious to keep at peace with us. Having passed through the streét, a band playing the while, the guard formed in their rear and followed them to the Hall of Audience, where they were duly received by our Commissioners, and as they shook hands the troop of European Madras Horse Artillery, drawn up for the occasion, fired a salute of 19 guns. They remained for about two hours, and were then marshalled back to the Ghat, having agreed to meet again on Friday the 8th; requiring till then to consider as to whether they would sign the treaty or not. The Commissioners were very humble indeed, but quietly asked for Bassein or any other sea-port." The General, according to the same writer, appeared to think they would sign the treaty, but Captain Phayre thought not.

A letter received from Rangoon, dated 14th April, informed us that the treaty was not yet signed; that the Burmese Commissioners were described as tolerably humble, and most anxious for peace; and

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that they wanted Meeaday and the Bassein district, particularly the latter, so as to have a communication with the sea. The "final answer" was expected about the beginning of May. "We are all anxiety," writes a brother officer from Prome, "for the result of the conference on the 4th April; on the 8th May we get our final answer." As a matter of course there was a thirty days' truce until the Governor-General's pleasure should be known.

Meeaday, or Myede, appears to be situated about midway between Prome and Patanago. To this latter point, nearly opposite Aeng, it was thought by some before hearing of another reference to the Governor-General, there would be an immediate advance, in consequence of the non-ratification of the treaty; and then if the Burmese did not come to terms this was to be followed up by an intimidating advance on Ava! But the authorities evidently knew better than put themselves in the way of playing the Yandaboo drama over again. The Governor-General in Council had no doubt some prudent scheme for the entire preservation of our honour and for the security of the extent of country finally to be annexed in this new quarter of the "British Possessions,"—notwithstanding the same might disappoint the zealous and natural expectations of the "Army of Ava!" It had been already positively asserted by some that the boundary line of Pegu would include Patanago; thus, if continued to the westward, taking in both ends of the Aeng Pass.

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During the months of March and April grain at Ava was nearly at famine prices, or at three and four rupees a basket. But if the Burmese suffered from a want of provisions at the Capital of their Kingdom, they did not stand alone. The flats and steamers had been so much occupied with Myat-Toon's affair, that an extreme scarcity of mess supplies and provisions took place at Prome. The *Nerbudda*, however, started on the 9th of April for that station with supplies, towing the *Soane*, full of Commissariat. On the whole, we may assert that in no war that ever took place in the East were the troops better supplied with provisions. Considering the difficulties of the country and the want of carriage this is saying a great deal. Here, at Tonghoo, some of us have been a month together without a glass of beer or a glass of wine; these, with a slight want of soap, boots, and clothing, have recently been the only "hardships" experienced by the Officer. Salt junk was to be had when no more dainty meat could be obtained; and the European soldier has always had his arrack or rum. Were our gallant old Chief to pay us a visit now, he would find us in fine condition for work at this frontier station! Provisions are well enough—sickness is the grand enemy to contend against at present in Burmah, as must be expected for the first year or two of occupation. During April a good deal of cholera took place at Prome among Europeans and Natives. Except among the Burmese, few or no cases occurred

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at Tonghoo; in short, with the exception of a few cases of dysentery, there has been no serious sickness here of any kind. This result, in three months,* speaks well as yet!

An intelligent Hindu servant remarked to the Author one day at Tonghoo that the Burmese were of the "devil caste;" this was after they had been firing off muskets at night, to the great disturbance of our quiet station, for the purpose of keeping away devils or evil-spirits from their dwellings! From the fact of some Burmese epicures having ate up a considerable portion of a dead Commissariat elephant about the same time, and being well aware that they were not averse to snakes and lizards as a repast, it may interest the reader to give the following remarks from an excellent work on the last war:—"In the choice of food the Burmese are far from cleanly; on the contrary, any disgusting meat is sought after with avidity, and this we often witnessed at Prome. A great mortality suddenly took place among the horses of the artillery and body-guard, as many as four and five dying daily; and no sooner had the animals breathed their last than you would see them surrounded by groups of Burmese, waiting like harpies, to pounce upon their prey. . . . . Their religion, it is true, forbids them wilfully to deprive cattle of life, but this is constantly evaded. If the animal is killed by an accidental shot, nothing is said on the subject, and this I fancy occurs very fre-

* To the latter end of May.

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quently, as we used to find half devoured buffaloes near the Burman picquets."* Buddha himself is said to have died from the effects of eating pork; and, on the natural supposition that the head of a vast belief would not have sanctioned such a licence in the meaning as that displayed in the foregoing extract, one becomes more assured of what has been remarked elsewhere, that not to put to death any living creature was no part of original Buddhism.†

It has been already stated in this Narrative that the Burmese are unshackled by the distinctions of *caste*. This gives us strong hope that they will entertain more liberal views than our Hindu brethren when we once fairly set about to enlighten and civilise them.

News arrived in a letter from Meeaday that a Woonghee—a rank next to the Princes of the Royal Family, or the head of the nobility—was within 20 or 30 miles of the place, accompanied by some 2,000 men; again, it was reported that the enemy had 10,000 or 15,000 men a little further off. The Woonghee, some said, was on his way down with a crore of rupees!—L.1,000,000 sterling—to buy us out of the country; and if we would not go he would drive us out! This story got afloat before the meeting of the Commissioners on the 4th of April. The gallant force at Meeaday, however, under Colonel Apthorp, although not 600 strong, appear to have taken matters very coolly at this

* Trant's *Two Years in Ava*.—Chapter X.

† *Notes on Ancient India*, by Colonel Sykes, F. R. S.

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critical period. Instead of getting up a meeting, or rather instead of holding a "Council of War" and debating on the best means of defending Meeaday in the event of an overwhelming attack, we find them wisely engaged over the all-important "furlough question," solving the more interesting point which turned to Old England and home! Very different was all this from August 1825, when Sir Archibald Campbell, heartily tired of the war, transmitted an "admonitory letter" to the King of Ava, stating it would be the last time he should address the Burmese Ministry; and when Brigadier-General Cotton in the same month proceeded with a small escort in the little *Diana* steamer up the Irrawaddy to reconnoitre the enemy's position at Meeaday. Then the Burmese army was ranged in line to the extent of a mile and a half down the bank of the river. When the General passed up, a battery of 16 pieces of cannon opened upon him, his gun-boats returned the fire, when it appeared the enemy's force consisted of between 16,000 and 20,000 men; about 400 boats were also lying under the walls of Meeaday.*

On the 11th of April the Bengal Fusiliers, under Major Gerrard, left Tonghoo for Rangoon. A few days before a detachment of the Madras Fusiliers had arrived under Captain Renaud.

On the 13th Brigadier Williams, appointed to command the Second Madras Brigade of the Army of Ava, arrived at Tonghoo; he was accompanied by

* *Two Years in Ava.*

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Captain Haines, 9th M. N. I., Brigade-Major. No better Officer could have been appointed at this time to the command of a frontier station. Having resided in Burmah for some years, he came among us possessing an intimate acquaintance with the Burmese language and character, two invaluable requisites for the management of a crafty Power. With this appointment the efficient duties of Colonel Poole as Brigadier, as well as those of his intelligent Brigade-Major Captain Ritherdon, of course terminated.

On the 14th Brigadier-General Steel and Staff left for Rangoon. Lieutenant Lambert, command ing the Irregular Horse, was obliged, from ill health, to accompany the party, and the command of his small body of cavalry was given to Captain Clogstoun, of the Quartermaster-General's Department. After what has been said of him in this Narrative it would be useless to repeat how well he was adapted for the charge of the gallant Ramghurs, who would have been of considerable use had an attacking Burmese force ventured within our ancient and extensive city walls—especially after we had driven them out with the aid of Artillery and Infantry—or in pursuing a Chief or two, and bringing them in as captives to the Brigadier! But we imagine a Chief would hardly escape outside the walls with his life were he rash enough to attack us. At this time dacoits were said to be numerous in the vicinity.

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On the 24th Major Hill—the gallant defender of the Pegu Pagoda—arrived with the Head-Quarters of the Madras Fusiliers.

A week before this news had reached us of a rather distressing nature,—that the small garrison left at Beling had been attacked, and almost entirely cut off. The principal instigator in this affair, we believe, was Moung-Goung, who marched with us from Sitang to Tonghoo.

The Beling garrison consisted of some 70 or 80 sepoys of the 1st M. N. I., under the command of Captain Wright. The Chief, being for some reasons displeased with us on returning to his native district, was said to have bribed and threatened some old Ava officials to collect a few hundred Burmese, attack the garrison, seize Beling,—and thus, by force of vigorous example, incite insurrection in other places, which would eventually end in driving the English out of the country into the sea! But with the exception of our losing a number of unfortunate sepoys, the insurrection was a complete failure. The Karens and another tribe,* who were staunch to our cause, slew the most forward of the Burmese Officers, and were highly instrumental in restoring order. Captain Wright's detachment, on being attacked, for a considerable time resisted the assailants in the most gallant manner, but afterwards, on leaving their position, they were followed up and eventually surrounded by the enemy. Many

* The Toung-Thaus.

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sepoys were killed. They fought fearlessly and well, but were hardly a match on this occasion for the more numerous and athletic soldiers of Burmah. Captain Wright shot a Chief with his own hand, and throughout displayed the greatest courage. At length, when about 15 miles from Sitang, our next military position, a friendly Burman pointed out the road by the river; so getting the wreck of his detachment together, now consisting of about 22 men, they all got into a boat, which was fortunately at hand, and reached Sitang. Captain Hamilton, on proceeding to reconnoitre shortly after, found many dead sepoys along the road, on several occasions dead Burmese beside them, the evident result of a determined struggle! This insurrection was entirely unexpected, and no blame whatever can be attached to any of our Authorities. We heard eventually that the Commissioner had burned down a considerable portion of Beling, and that Moung-Goung had gone towards Kyouk-Ghee.

On the 7th of May the wily Chief was said to have passed within five miles of Tonghoo, on his way to Ava! But he would be too late to instigate the war party against us.

There was now some talk of giving up Tonghoo; but it would never do to give up the key of the rice country and other valuable commodities, after all our trouble and expense. All round here the country is most fertile, and some fine teak forests are said to be not far distant.

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In Garrison Orders of the 12th May appeared a Division Order * by Brigadier-General Steel, C. B., stating that the Martaban Column, as a separate force, was broken up; but the Brigadier-General would still retain command of the Southern Garrisons, including Pegu, pending further orders from General Godwin. "The exemplary conduct of the troops," wrote General Steel on this occasion, "composing the Martaban Column, has been honoured by the approbation of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council, recorded in General Orders. In taking leave of this fine force the Brigadier-General assures the Officers, and all ranks, that he would feel a great pride in being again associated with them in the field, and he begs to express his best wishes for their future welfare and glory."

About the middle of May home news reached us up to the 24th of February. Of course "House of Lords,"—"The War with Ava," arrested general attention. On this occasion,† in our humble opinion, the Earl of Ellenborough had really gone too far. If the reporters of his speech are to be credited, he said, with regard to carrying on the government of Ava, that there was not a single individual in the service able to speak the language of the country. Now some very excellent Burmese linguists from the Indian Army having been appointed to the administration of Pegu, it was natural enough to be startled by this bold assertion.

* D. O., 27th April. † February 24th.

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"With respect to the conduct of the present war," said the Earl of Aberdeen, "the Government could not boast of that power of military criticism professed by Lord Ellenborough, and therefore were unfortunately unable to pass judgment on the operations now being carried on in Burmah; they had, however, the greatest confidence and reliance in the discretion of the Governor-General, and as he had expressed himself satisfied with the progress of the war, and had determined to annex Pegu, after mature deliberation, the Government were disposed to acquiesce in the opinion expressed by the late Government, and in the eulogies passed by it on the Governor-General."

The Earl of Derby defended the line of operations pursued in the war; and he thought "that in justice both to the Peguese and ourselves we were bound not to stop short of the annexation of that Province."

Mr Hume, in the other House, was convinced that Commodore Lambert's conduct was the cause of the war. Sir James Weir Hogg had no great difficulty in justifying the gallant Commodore from the charge of provoking it; he likewise entered upon a vindication of the Marquis of Dalhousie and of the military operations—no very difficult matter to one really acquainted with all the circumstances. Looking back on everything that has been done, calmly and dispassionately, it is really difficult to perceive any glaring faults in the general conduct of

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the Second Burmese War. Errors on some occasions, in the course of the operations, there have been, as there must be in everything that "smells of mortality," and these have been freely pointed out in this Narrative;—but in the general conduct of the war there is much to admire. General Godwin on the whole has played his part carefully and well, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty,—under circumstances which would have made some men, more ambitious of distinction but of far less prudence, commit a political error which could only be remedied after some extraordinary disaster. To take to pieces all the shallow criticism that has been expended on this war would require a volume of itself. "The greatest blunder in the conduct of the war," writes a London Journalist, "was the selection of a Commander of Fabian tactics, instead of a dashing one." Now, with due deference, we mean to assert that a "dashing" General, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, would be totally unfit for the conduct of a Burmese War: Burmah is not a field for the display of "dashing" capabilities in the General commanding. With the Colonel of a Regiment they are always in place; and Colonel Godwin, even his enemies will admit, did a few "dashing" things in the last war!

The death of Rear-Admiral Austen had of course placed Commodore Lambert in the position of Acting Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. He was now a Commodore of the First Class, and

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as hale and energetic as ever. From the *Admiralty*, dated February 28th, the following cheering intelligence found its way to the other Royal Naval Officers serving in Burmah:—"In consideration of the successful operations against Rangoon and Pegu, and in the Irrawaddy river, the following Naval promotions have taken place, dated 25th ultimo. To be Captain—Commander C. F. A. Shadwell. Commanders — Lieutenants J. W. Dorville; H. S. Hillyar; R. Lambert, and G. W. Rice.* Lieutenants — Mates Mr H. A. Hinde and Mr C. A. B. Pocock. Master—Second Master Mr R. Sturgess. Surgeons—Assistant-Surgeons Mr F. Secombe and Mr H. Glade."

In December it had been reported that the command of the East India and China Station was to be given to Rear-Admiral the Hon. Sir F. B. R. Pellew, C.B., K.C.H., second son of the late Lord Exmouth. The report proved to be correct. On the 9th of March the Rear-Admiral left Calcutta to take the Naval Command in Burmah. He left Rangoon in the same month for Moulmein, Amherst, and Madras, we believe, in H. M's ship *Winchester*, of which Captain Shadwell on his promotion became Flag Captain—Hillyar, of the same ship, being appointed Commander into the *Sphynx*.

* This gallant Officer had been severely wounded during the operations; he had likewise been attacked with a fever common to the climate. He died on reaching his native land, on the 18th of March, aged 25 years.—*Dover Telegraph and Indian News*, London, April 4, 1853.

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The monsoon set in at Tonghoo nearly at the same time as at Rangoon, or about the 20th of May. The rain came down in torrents on that night, proving to the utmost extent the leaking capacities of the buildings occupied by officers and men. None of us on the above occasion suffered very severely. The thatching used for the houses does not, as at Rangoon, consist of palm leaves, but of a large species of grass tied in a shape to resemble them, which are not nearly so easy of adjustment in case of leakage as the former. These artificial leaves cost from one to two rupees a hundred. It takes from 600 to 800 to thatch a "mansion" of very ordinary dimensions. It is the opinion of Colonel Symes, in his *Embassy to Ava*,—written upwards of 50 years ago,—that "the houses of the meanest peasants of Pegu, and throughout the Burmese Empire, possess manifest advantages over Indian dwellings, by being raised from the ground either on wooden posts, or bamboos, according to the size of the building. The habitations of the higher ranks are usually elevated 6 or 8 feet, and those of the humbler class 3 or 4 feet. There are no brick buildings either in Pegu or Rangoon, except such as belong to the King, or are dedicated to the divinity Gaudama. Almost every house has earthen pots, filled with water, on the roof; there is also a particular class of people to extinguish fires, and to perambulate the streets at night. At each door stands a long bamboo, with an iron hook at the

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end, to pull down the thatch." We believe there is at present no alteration to relate in these customs, so well adapted to the country.

The Province of Pegu, being a flat country, may be said to be almost everywhere under water during the monsoon. The roads are destroyed, and communication by canoes is often adopted between different villages. On the march we frequently observed these country boats high and dry in some fine piece of land, as if waiting to be ready for work in the next deluge. The soil of Pegu is remarkably well adapted for the cultivation of rice. Nature here supplies the place of the husbandman's skill, and seems to have a pleasure in abundantly providing for humankind. Many houses and villages have their private granaries. A writer, 26 years ago, states exactly what one finds at the present day, notwithstanding the lawless characters that have been prowling about and destroying the country since the last war:—"In the neighbourhood of the villages small quantities of indigo, cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, and various of the fruits and vegetables are grown, and prove that if properly treated much might be attempted successfully with the soil."

Pegu only requires a larger population to make it in a few years a most wealthy acquisition to our dominions in the East. But industry and enterprise, with the materials we have to work upon, will do much.

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Having now resided some time in this country, the writer much regrets his not having been able to behold that far-famed temple the Shoémadoo at Pegu. It has been alluded to in the former work, and is held to be a very splendid pile. Its architectural beauty is considered by some to be superior to that of the Shoé Dagoon at Rangoon, but through the lapse of years and neglect the gilding has become destroyed. To some minds much pleasure is afforded in observing these vast monuments, hallowed as they generally are by tradition, and marking out the scene of former greatness. The fashion of the place passes away; streets once frequented by a busy throng are now o'ergrown with rank vegetation; but the glorious temple still remains, as if determined to become acquainted with better days! So let us say has stood the Shoémadoo at Pegu, not a century since one of the finest cities of the East. Under British protection it will no longer be said, "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!" It is to be hoped that the night of her weeping being passed, the dawn of improvement under our Government may secure to the province for ages to come better and happier days!

On the 25th of May intelligence reached us that the negotiations for peace had been unsuccessful. As early as the 4th the Commodore, with the Gover-

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nor-General's answer, had been daily expected at Prome.* The new King was on the throne, and from all we could learn declared that he had done nothing wrong; that he could not be responsible for the acts of the old King or his Governors; and that he would not cede away any portion of his territory. But although to all appearance we were to have no treaty signed, the Governor-General seemed anxious to conclude the war by simply keeping and protecting what we already occupied. He refused to give up one place taken, and any attempt to disturb our new possessions would meet with a severe retribution. The boundary line was now drawn, and the imperial dictate had gone forward to the Majesty of Ava—"THUS FAR SHALT THOU GO AND NO FURTHER!"

The following laconic note regarding this important meeting with the Burmese Commissioners was sent from Rangoon to the author at Tonghoo, about the end of the month; we believe its contents to be strictly correct:—"No peace; news arrived last night. The Commissioners refused to cede any portion of their country. They might possibly give us a port,—say Bassein or Martaban; but they knew of no right that we had to Rangoon; whereupon the Burmese Commissioners were informed that they had twenty-four hours to accomplish their disappear-

* "The Burmese and British Commissioners meet on the 9th, when the all important and looked for result will be known."—*Letter from Prome, 7th May.*

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ance. In six hours they had vanished!" This was certainly an original mode of bringing on amicable terms between—what the Burmese styled in the last war—"the two great Nations." If we were great then, it was our policy to show them that we were greater now—a pleasant fact which very few, either Asiatics or Europeans, will venture to deny! It seemed then that the Burmese were again "trying on" the same game of craft they had employed before the storming of Melloon,* under Sir A. Campbell. The tenor of a communication with that Chief ran to the effect "that it was contrary to the King's religious principles and the constitution of the empire to make any cession of territory, as he was bound to preserve its integrity; that in like manner he could not think of paying any money, but would rather try every expedient than have recourse to such a measure." And yet the King was desirous of making peace on a liberal footing! Such a mode of doing business, however, is not at all understood by us! This ultimatum of the Golden Foot, and the Governor-General's wise determination not to give up one inch of ground, destroyed the hopes of many who, weary of a war in which there did not appear to be any more foes to fight, and slightly damaged by the climate, turned a fond look towards India! The bachelors on the frontier did not take the matter so much to heart.

* 19th of January 1826.

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At the end of May we were roused from all ideas of a termination of the war by hearing that the advanced force of the enemy—some 2,000 strong—was within 20 miles of Tonghoo. The main body, consisting of about 20,000, were to attack us in a few days at our new frontier station. A much larger force was to proceed about the same period to attack Prome. The full moon, it was thought, would be the time. It is needless to say that no attack took place. With the exception of a sentry having been fired on, and the occasional shots of villagers outside the walls either at, or to keep off dacoits, not a shot was heard; and all idea of "turning out" on a dark rainy night—as had been the case during the first month at Rangoon—like the Burmese troops that were to attack us, speedily melted away! Many of these soldiers of Ava we really believe did hover about our vicinity. It was just possible that under such a chief as Myat-Toon they might commence stockading at Tantobin, and thus cut off our communication with Shoé-Gyne by the river, when an attacking force, which could not be spared from the garrison of Tonghoo, would be necessary to dislodge them from their position. But it is also likely that the Burmese troops were sadly in want of pay and food, and that even they had become convinced of the utter folly of prolonging a contest with us.

At Moulmein it had been asserted that Tonghoo was a populous district. Judging from what we have heard and seen, it does not strike us as such.

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As if tired of the feudal system, many who had served in the Burmese army were to be found about the town and in the neighbouring villages. From these a considerable number of coolies or workmen, to serve under our able and zealous Assistant Field Engineer,* were generally procurable, but not without some difficulty. We believe the Burmese to be much attached to the *otium cum dignitate* life, although we have seen many hard and zealous workers among them at four annas (6d.) a day.

POPULATION.—Having touched again on the important subject of population—in these days of emigration one may say the all-important subject—it may be remarked with regard to Colonel Symes in his work on Ava computing the population at 17,000,000,† that the author of *Two Years in Ava* makes the population, at the utmost, amount to 6,000,000. In 1823 the Burman Empire ‡ comprised the countries of Ava, Pegu, Munnipoor, Arracan, and Tenasserim. Of these we have already given Pegu, say 3,000,000 of population. Then the people of the countries which have not yet fallen into our hands will probably number as follows:—Ava, 3,000,000; Siam, 3,500,000; Cochin-China, Cambodia, Siampa, and Tonquin, 5,000,000; in all between 11 and 12,000,000. If Providence should

* Lieutenant Wheeler, 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

† The Burman Empire, including Arracan.

‡ Between the 9th and 27th degrees of north latitude, and 91st and 99th of east longitude.

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decree eventually our possession of China, then there will be 250,000,000 more,—a rather important charge for even the best organised and the most liberal Government!

At this time, as far as sickness among the troops was concerned, a sunny day at Tonghoo was accompanied by a dark night at Prome. Early in June a letter arrived informing us that H. M.'s 18th, 80th, and 51st Regiments, had been obliged, from cholera, to move away seven miles distant, into Poonghee houses, when it was hoped that change of air would abate the scourge. As many as 14 Europeans had been buried in one day. Two officers had died; one of them Lieutenant Pilmer of H. M.'s 51st, a most excellent officer, spoken of in the highest terms by Sir John Cheape in his Donnabew Despatch. Major Burgoyne's * troop of Madras Horse Artillery was also losing men. Captain Clogstoun had now been ordered to Rangoon, and Lieutenant Graham, 11th B. N. I., who in October last had been appointed to do duty with the "Squadron of Irregular Horse attached to the Ramghur Light Infantry Battalion," commanded in his place. The former Officer, and Lieutenant Barrow,† who had served us faithfully and well in that most important department—the Commissariat—left for Shoé-Gyne and Rangoon early in the month.

* The Major had proceeded to Prome about the end of March, accompanied by Dr Mudge.

† 5th M. N. I. Succeeded at Tonghoo by Lieut. Mackellar.

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On the 12th of June a sad accident happened to one of our European gunners, by which a fine old soldier lost his left arm. During the operation of bursting a Burmese gun (brass), to test the quality of the metal, although apparently every caution was taken, the piece went off almost immediately on the match being fired, shattering the arm near the shoulder, one of the pieces of metal in its sanguinary progress carrying a portion of the gunner's jacket, sticking fast, along with it. The prompt attention and skill of Assistant-Surgeon Bond of the Artillery, and Dr Anderson of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, soon relieved the sufferer, who, after nobly bearing the amputation, growled forth against the destiny which, after 18 years' service, deprived him of his arm by a—Burmese gun!

We shall close this Chapter with an anecdote of the last war, which may be in place here, as, judging from the appearance and quality of the Burmese ordnance, a man might be inclined to pause a little before firing a piece off for ordinary practice. After the signing and sealing of the Treaty of Yandaboo, Sir A. Campbell and Mr Robertson took the Burman Chieftains to view some of our troops and Artillery. The "rebel English strangers" having astonished them with the evolutions of our Infantry, some field-pieces were then brought out, and 50 rounds fired to show the rapidity of our Artillery movements. Finally, some shells and rockets were thrown across the river. During the latter part of

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the exhibition one of the rockets exploded at the moment it left the tube, and scattered the shot around, but fortunately without doing any injury. Sir A. Campbell then drew the attention of the Burmese Chiefs to the fact that we could make our shells explode at any distance we pleased. After the exhibition was ended, one of the mighty visitors, on being asked quietly what he thought of it, replied, "Oh, we can do all this much better ourselves at Ava!"*

* *Two Years in Ava.*

PHYSIOLOGICAL NOTE.

Observing one day at Tonghoo some very extraordinary-looking specimens of the human race, it struck the Author that it would be time well spent were a medical man to commence in this new country a series of practical investigations regarding the varieties of mankind, starting from the general conclusion that all the human races *may have had* a common origin. Then, after this, would come an inquiry into the bearing of philological evidence upon the question, the zealous student finishing his labours by persuading live specimens to accompany him to London! Having at the commencement of this Chapter ventured a physiological remark or two, without any book to refer to on the subject, an enormous tome, "the Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology," vol. iv, has been since lent us by a zealous friend of literature and science. The following is the first, among the principal groups, according to Dr Latham, into which the Asiatic Nations may be arranged:—"1. The Seriform stock, distributed over China, Thibet, the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and the base of the Himalayan range of mountains; their configura-

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tion is Mongolian, softened down; their languages are aptotic, or with only the rudiments of an inflexion; and they thus preserve, more than any other race, the primitive condition of human speech. In their mode of life they present the phenomenon of a civilisation which has attained a considerable degree of development, remaining stationary through a very long period of time, and isolating itself as jealously as possible from the general current of progress. In passing from China towards India, there is a gradual transition in physical and mental characters between the Chinese and the Hindu; thus the Burmese have more hair and beard [this latter ornament is rarely observable], more prominent features, and darker complexions than the Siamese and Chinese, and the darkness in complexion increases towards the confines of Bengal. There is therefore no such abrupt transition as shall make it difficult to admit the Seriform origin of the bulk of the Hindu population, if further investigation of their language should render this connection as probable as it is in the case of the inhabitants of the Dekhan and Ceylon." The isolation from the general current of progress, it is to be hoped, will not be a feature of the Seriform stock for ever. It seems even now to be gradually vanishing, and every conquest by a civilised race in these parts, will aid in its diminution.

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CHAPTER XXI.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S POLICY IN THE SECOND BURMESE WAR.

ABOUT the middle of June 1853 the Official Documents containing the policy of the Governor-General of India regarding Burmah, reached us at Tonghoo. No feast could have been more welcome to the poor Author of a Narrative than these numerous columns of type at such a time. Novelty was sadly wanting among us. Even those who had a taste for reading and writing had exhausted books, and had nearly exhausted paper. Of "news" there was none, save the old story of the treaty which was never to be signed; and of excitement, being on the frontier station, there was an occasional little, caused by the rumour of a Burmese attacking force being not far distant, and the probability of, while writing a letter homewards about the Treaty of Peace, your being visited by a swift messenger in the shape of a 4-pounder shot or a jingal ball right through the mat-wall of your airy picturesque cottage! The reality of soldier-life at Tonghoo had arrived at this

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pitch among us when the various documents of correspondence between the Governor-General of India and the Secret Committee, relative to hostilities with Burmah, presented some new food for the mind to dwell upon. The first thought that struck the present writer was, how did it all tally with what he had already written? Had he been, without sufficient data, rash in any of the important assertions he had ventured? Conscience having brought forward no very serious accusations, he determined on making a few notes from, and remarks on, the important papers which had now arrived, and the following are presented to our readers accordingly.

In the first place, few will now be bold enough to deny that "hostilities with Burmah had become unavoidable," and these few probably belong to the Peace Society, a great gun of which was let fly at Manchester against our Burmese policy; but what signified the futile discharge, when common sense held firmly to the opinion that, "of all our justifiable wars, none was more obviously and thoroughly justifiable than the Second Burmese War."

The Governor-General, in a Minute dated June 30, 1852, says—after remarking that the whole seaboard of Burmah was in our possession—"but, for all that, the Court of Ava has made no sign of submission, and a final result has not yet been obtained. . . . . I had the honour (Minute, February 12,) to declare my opinion that 'the Government of India cannot, consistently with its own safety, appear for one day in an

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attitude of inferiority, or hope to maintain peace and submission among the numberless princes and people embraced within the vast circuit of the Empire, if, for one day, it give countenance to a doubt of the absolute superiority of its arms, and of its continued resolution to assert it.'" The wisdom of these remarks is at once apparent. "This maxim," continues his Lordship, "applies with especial force to any matter of dispute or conflict with the Burman Kingdom. . . . . There is no Power which ventures to assert the same pretensions to superiority in strength and dignity, and none so ready to support those pretensions by force of arms." The Governor-General is next of opinion that "after the events of the last three months we ought not to concede to them terms so light as General Godwin, in his instructions, was authorised to grant. . . . . If overtures should be made before large additional charges have been incurred by the Government of India, in the preparation of an army to take the field in November, the Court of Ava should be required to pay down, promptly, 15 lacs of rupees, to cede the Negrais and Diamond Islands, and the district of Martaban, to a point upon the Sitang River near to Shoé-Gyne." In this Minute the Governor-General thus ably defends himself and the Government of India against the vulgar charge of "insatiable lust of territorial aggrandisement."

"In the earliest stage of the present dispute I avowed my opinion that conquest in Burmah would

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be a calamity second only to the calamity of war; that opinion remains unchanged..... If conquest is contemplated by me now, it is not as a positive good, but solely as the least of those evils before us, from which we must of necessity select one." With reference to the necessity which compelled us in 1826 to deprive the Burmese of the Provinces of Tenasserim, Arracan, and Assam, the Governor-General asserts—"now, for stronger reasons and with better effect, the occupation of the Province of Pegu appears to me to be unavoidably demanded by sound views of general policy." In short, what should have been done 26 years before was in contemplation now.

On the 6th of September the Secret Committee replied to the Governor-General of India in Council, acknowledging, in addition to the above Minute of the 30th of June, the receipt of a very important despatch, dated the 2d of July. The reply of the Secret Committee reveals the policy of the Home Government. They seem entirely to concur with the Governor-General in his opinions regarding the annexation of Pegu; but they see "material difficulties opposed to the retaining possession of the district without bringing the war to a conclusion either by a treaty with the King of Ava, of which that cession should be the basis (*sine qua non*), or by the entire subjugation of that Power." These "material difficulties" appeared to the Secret Committee from the Governor-General, after presenting to them five

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alternatives, having remarked, chiefly with reference to the disposition of the inhabitants of Pegu, "that it may be well worthy of consideration whether, in the event of the King of Ava evading submission, and of the occupation of Pegu being finally resolved upon, we should not confine our military operations to driving the Burmese before us out of every part of that Province, and then occupying it, with the declared intention of holding it permanently, without proceeding onward to the capital." The Secret Committee consider that, simultaneously with General Godwin's advance on Prome, or earlier if thought expedient, the King of Ava should be informed of our being prepared to adopt the cession of the Province of Pegu as the measure of compensation by which a farther advance into his kingdom may be stayed, and to conclude a Treaty of Peace with him accordingly, "accompanied by the necessary stipulations for the future maintenance of a friendly intercourse between the two Nations; but that, in the event of his refusing, or delaying to accede to that proposal, he must be prepared for all the consequences which he will bring upon himself by the further prosecution of the war in his dominions." With regard to the additional force required by General Godwin for his operations, the Committee consider that this force would be required under any of the contingencies contemplated by the Governor-General in Council, except the very improbable one of a timely submission by the Burmese; and they doubt

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not "the preparations for the dispatch of it will have been completed in due time to take advantage of the favourable season for its employment." The Secret Committee observe, with intense satisfaction, the friendly disposition of the inhabitants of Pegu; and they express their admiration of the policy of the Governor-General in not yielding to the desire of the Peguese, or Talains, to place themselves formally under our protection while an uncertainty remained as to the final annexation to our territories of their once independent kingdom. "Now," write the Committee, "that uncertainty will be removed by the present despatch, which is intended to convey to you our authority, under the sanction of the Queen's Government, to consider the permanent occupation of Pegu, and its final annexation to the East Indian Dominions of Her Majesty, as the just and necessary result of those military operations which you have been driven to direct against the Burmese Empire. . . . . You will therefore consider yourselves authorised to proclaim the annexation of Pegu to the British Empire in the East, as soon as the forces under General Godwin shall be in possession of the whole of it by the capture of Prome." The precise limits of the cession to be insisted upon were those which would secure a well-defined military line of defence. It is curious to remark in the above instructions by the Secret Committee, the great importance attached to the capture and occupation of the city of Prome. Perhaps, in common with many

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at home and in India, they thought that not a shot to the southward would be fired after our securing the ancient boundary between the two kingdoms.

We now turn to the Governor-General's Minute, dated August 10, 1852, written after his Lordship's return from Rangoon. He passes in review the present position of our affairs in Burmah, our preparations, our means, and our future prospects. He is delighted at the health of the troops, their excellent state of discipline, and everything seems to secure Lord Dalhousie's admiration at the great commercial capital of the Burmese Empire. But his hands are tied—

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown!"

"The Government of India," he writes to the Secret Committee, "is at present incompetent to determine the question of policy. No reply can be expected to their application for instructions for some time to come."

Particular attention is requested to the following remarks, as bearing on what the author ventured to put forward in a former Chapter. "The absence of definite orders now, upon the ultimate policy to be adopted, is so far to be regretted that it necessarily hampers the Government in some degree as to present measures. For, so long as it continues doubtful whether the permanent occupation of Pegu will be permitted, I feel reluctant to direct an advance of the army, even as far as Prome;

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because I am most unwilling to expose the people (who would be led by our advance to commit themselves still more deeply to us than they have yet done) to all the horrors which would be the certain consequence to them of any subsequent retirement by us." The question now to be solved was—Whether the ensuing Campaign should include a march upon Ava, or should be restricted to an advance to Prome and an occupation of Pegu? The Governor-General discovered, from the best information he could obtain at Rangoon, that an advance to Ava could not be made wholly by water; in his opinion a heavy land column would be "unavoidable for some part of the way." And with regard to the carriage resources of Burmah, Lord Dalhousie truly says—"Greatly as everything in that country has changed for the better, compared with what it was in 1824, I apprehend that the difficulty of obtaining land-carriage would be hardly less now than then." But notwithstanding all these disadvantages "everything of that sort is practicable if one is resolved to do it; but it could be effected only at an enormous cost, which nothing but a proved indispensable necessity would justify the Government in incurring." On the other hand, should it be resolved to limit the advance "to the ground which it is proposed to occupy permanently," expense would be vastly diminished, life would be saved, and time would be economised. Only half the amount of troops would then be required by the General. The flotilla might

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be able to convey the force for the occupation of Prome. Then, says the Governor-General, "the whole of the cold season will be before us, in which to confirm our position and to provide against the future; and if the decision of the authorities in England shall confirm the proposals of the Government of India, the war may be declared at an end in November, and the annexation of the Province proclaimed. The treaty relations which have been violated by the Burmese will not be renewed. Doubts and uncertainties both in Pegu and among ourselves will be removed, and thenceforward we shall have only to defend our frontier against attack." Lord Dalhousie is firmly of opinion that the conquest of the Upper Provinces of the Burmese Empire "would be for no good end after all." It was now decided that the advance should be limited to Prome.

We now come to a very important point, the discussion of which drew down much unjust abuse on General Godwin—unjust, because information and impartiality were not apparent in the majority of opinions—regarding the time when the advance on Prome should be made. The Governor-General adverts to the subject of an immediate advance to Prome having been officially discussed by General Godwin shortly after the conclusion of operations at Rangoon. The General stated strong military objections to the movement; "he pointed out that his force was comparatively

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small, and that no reinforcements could be obtained at that season; he showed that we were totally ignorant of the plans and movements of the enemy. Hence he argued, that if he should take his force to Prome it would be placed there in the heart of an enemy's country, wholly without support if attacked, (which was an event at least as possible then as in 1825,) and with his sole communication by the river insecure; and consequently, that he would be altogether in a weak and false position." These reasons appeared to the Governor-General, as they would, doubtless, have appeared to all reasonable men, to be unanswerable. Then, again, General Godwin was strongly urged by many to advance during the rains. On—on—to Ava—*Sesostris, Pluto, Proserpine!* throw shells into the Palace of the Golden Foot, astonish the inhabitants of the "City of the Immortals!" "another turn-a-head," to Umeerapoora, and bring the "Golden Supreme" to terms! Steam on the Irrawaddy, there is no limit to your progress! shoals are nothing; tonnage is nothing; rocks not laid down in the chart are nothing; nothing whatever is impossible! General Godwin informed Lord Dalhousie at Rangoon that he had declined to advance during the rains. Though some of his previous objections were removed by the command obtained over the river by the flotilla, he would still, in the absence of reinforcements, have been wholly without support; and he alleged as an additional reason for declining to advance, that while

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no object of importance had been pointed out as likely to be secured by the early occupation of Prome, it would have been unwise and culpable to remove the troops, without positive necessity, from the barracks which had been provided for them, and where they were enjoying comparatively good health, in order to expose them at Prome to effects of climate and the season, from which they were likely to suffer severely. "I consider," says Lord Dalhousie, "that these reasons of General Godwin for refusing to advance hitherto, during the rains, to Prome, were sound and good." Thus approved of by his Lordship to the Secret Committee, nevertheless, General Godwin had the rare distinction of being one of the best abused Generals of the day! Yes, it was a distinction to be abused by those utterly ignorant of the facts of each case—ignorant alike of local as well as of military affairs—whose ignorance and presumption now becomes apparent in the most glaring form from the papers before us. At a more advanced period a letter appeared in an Indian Journal,*—which Journal in India, with two others well known to fame in London, formed the grand literary triumvirate of sarcasm and abuse—in defence of the General's conduct, the publication of which evinced a decided liberality on the part of the Editor:—"General Godwin formed one opinion, Commodore Lambert another. Had Commodore Lambert's

* December 30, 1852.

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views been as easy of accomplishment as the Editors of so many journals declare, surely Lord Dalhousie would have over-ruled the General, ordered him to furnish 1,000 soldiers to the Commodore, and have directed the gallant sailor to advance up the Irrawaddy and blow the King's Court and Capital to 'immortal smash.' It is but reasonable, however, to conclude that the Governor-General did not coincide with this dashing proposal, but preferred the plan of campaign submitted by the General."

Let us next turn to the all-important Minutes of November 1852, forwarded by the Governor-General of India in Council to the Secret Committee :—

"*Fort-William, November* 6, 1852. (No. 53.) In reply to your despatch of the 6th of September last, we have the honor to forward for your information, copies of Minutes recorded by us on the affairs of Burmah, from which it will be seen that we are unanimous in deprecating an occupation of Burmah, and that we further deprecate an advance to Ava, (with the exception of Sir John Littler, who advocates an advance, but without an occupation). We have, &c.

(Signed) "DALHOUSIE. F. CURRIE.
"J. LITTLER. J. LOWIS."

Lord Dalhousie's Minute is dated November 3, 1852. It contains so much valuable information that one is almost led to wonder how, in the midst of a Governor-General's multifarious duties, so much knowledge should have been brought together in a

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despatch, a large portion of which, it is presumed, must have been written from memory. Here we have the Governor-General's full views, and the policy he urged upon the Secret Committee at home. It is a reply to the despatch of the Secret Committee, dated the 6th of September. It is regretted that the Committee does not coincide with the Governor-General in Council "regarding the manner in which the formal termination of the war is to be effected. . . . . The orders of the Committee are, that on the occupation of Pegu being completed, the King of Burmah shall be called upon to conclude a Treaty of Peace, of which the cession of Pegu shall be the basis; and threatened, if he refuses, with all the consequences that continued war will bring upon him . . . . . Although it now appears that the objections felt by the Committee to the larger occupation are not insuperable, I still adhere to the policy originally recommended; and still strongly urge that the army should not advance to Ava, excepting under a more cogent necessity than that contemplated by the Committee in their present despatch." Now we have a piece of statesmanship, as if its author, like a political Theophrastus, had penetrated into the inmost core of the Burmese character:—"The Committee," says Lord Dalhousie, "regard the treaty as of great importance. I regret to feel myself compelled to differ from it so widely, that I regard a treaty with this Burman Power as an evil to be avoided . . . . Eastern Nations

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set little store by such instruments. Their opinion of any attempted violation of treaty by Burmah would certainly not be calculated to deter the Court of Ava from prosecuting its unfaithful projects; and the British Government would obtain neither moral nor physical aid from them in enforcement of its rights, either by their opinion or by their action. In truth, the conclusions of such a treaty serves only to impose obligations upon the British Government in proportion as it confers rights. A general stipulation for peace and friendship, and for the mutual security of the subjects of both States, is not open to so much objection; but when clauses are multiplied, as in the Treaty of Yandaboo, and in the consequent Commercial Treaty with Burmah, giving to the British Government many rights specified in detail, points of contact, and consequently of conflict, are multiplied in the same proportion. The British Government is thereby reduced to the necessity either of interfering upon every occasion on which a faithless and overbearing Power disregards the stipulated rights of our subjects, or of avoiding the perpetual risk of quarrel by overlooking such disregard of its subjects' rights, and neglecting to enforce them. Such was the course pursued through many years in regard to our treaties with Burmah." It is then the opinion of the Governor-General that this undecided policy "did unquestionably encourage the Burmese in their arrogance, and presumptuous violation of public rights, which led at last to the

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present war, and to their refusal of any reparation for the purpose of averting it." With reference to the fact of our Envoys having been "actually hunted out of the country," the Rev. Mr Burney—son of Colonel Burney—informed the author of this Narrative that while his father was resident at Ava, on the eve of the Colonel's departure from the presence of the Golden Foot, the King said he would allow him to remain with him as a friend, but not as a Resident. Colonel Burney's knowledge of the Burmese language and people even endeared him to the Court of Ava.

Lord Dalhousie is convinced that treaties formed on the Yandaboo model would lead either to an early quarrel or to a repetition of the same process as before, with a similar result; and such are the reasons for which the Governor-General regards "the negotiations of a formal treaty with Burmah as productive of evil." The Governor-General in Council at length arrives at the conclusion "that a treaty with Burmah is of no more value than the reed with which it is written—that, as a barrier against hostility, it is as flimsy as the paper on which it is traced." But, as the Committee express an opinion that a treaty should be formed, "its injunctions shall be obeyed." Lord Dalhousie regards it in the last degree improbable that the King will consent to sign a treaty ceding Pegu. "That Province was the first and best of the conquests of Burmah, and is the last that it has retained. To cede it would be to cut off

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a right hand and pluck out a right eye. National pride would struggle bitterly against the open humiliation of a formal surrender;" but yet the King's refusal to sign does not deter the Governor-General from urging on the Secret Committee the fact that the consequences of an entire subjugation of Burmah would be "most injurious to the interests of the British Government." With regard to the entire subjugation of the Burman power, the Committee had not before it the full information that (in the Minute of the 10th of August) "must subsequently have made it acquainted with the great difficulties by which the execution of such an enterprise would be obstructed." Lord Dalhousie then proceeds to shew how, with reference to the much entertained opinion of the propriety of an immediate dispatch of a force upon the steam flotilla to Ava, thus striking at the heart of the capital, and terminating the war at once, such a movement is impossible. "The Government of India has not at its disposal the means of effecting it."

We have already stated in this Work that a fleet of very light steamers was required to proceed above Prome, so it will be useless here to give any of the Governor-General's details on these matters, admirably set forth as they are in his "splendid Despatch." In the Narrative, the *Enterprise*, drawing 12 feet of water, has been seen lying high and dry even between Rangoon and Prome. We are not quite so sure of having mentioned the *Sesostris* having struck upon a rock coming down the broad

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and deep Bassein River. However, the frigate, through a miracle, came safe to port, was lightened, put into the Irrawaddy while the water was yet high, and accompanied the advance to Prome. "The river has already fallen 15 feet since the 9th of October."* There were 9 steam-vessels employed on the advance to Prome, including store-boats, gun-boats, and other craft. "Although 2,300 men were recently brought to Prome," says the Governor-General, "the voyage was comparatively short and the weather was fine. Even then the men suffered from the crowding and confinement. If they are to be moved in the rains for some hundred miles farther, the ships must be covered in, and the ships' boats could not give the same aid as of late. Unless it was desired to invite the decimation of cholera, the numbers embarked in each ship must be greatly less than on the advance to Prome. I give a wide estimate when I say that the whole steam flotilla could not, in the rains, convey more than 1,500 men," and this flotilla could not be increased. In the Minute of the 10th of August the Governor-General held that an advance to Ava could not be made wholly by water. "I greatly doubt," said he, "whether the steamers which during this autumn would go to Prome, could in the ensuing winter mount the stream to Ava." Since the date of that Minute it is now asserted that no time has been lost, nor any exertions spared, to collect carriage for the army.

* Minute, November 3, 1852.

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Elephants had likewise been dispatched from Bengal, all with a view to enabling the army "to move against any force that might be in its neighbourhood." This was politic; but Lord Dalhousie thinks it in the highest degree the reverse, with the Cabul disaster fresh on our memory, to conquer and occupy Ava, and thus "expose a handful of men isolated in the midst of enemies."

We now proceed to the financial remark put forward by the Governor-General, that "heretofore the charges of the war have been light indeed, compared with the cost of the previous war." It was stated in our former Work that the Campbell Expedition, during Lord Amherst's administration, cost nearly L.12,000,000 sterling, or say ten crores of rupees, in less than 24 months. From what has been publicly set forth regarding the expense of the present war, it would appear to have cost considerably less than a million sterling in the 12 months. In the House of Lords, February 24, 1853, the Earl of Ellenborough said that the war had cost from the commencement not less than L.130,000 a month. On the following day, in the House of Commons, Sir James Weir Hogg exposed what he termed the preposterous exaggerations respecting the cost of the expedition. Taking up the *Friend of India* *—a sort of financial Necker in his way—it is there said that the war will have scarcely cost more than 60 lakhs of rupees in a twelvemonth! The

* January 13, 1853.

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Times had the cost of the expedition up to the first of July 1852 reckoned at about half a million sterling: at a later date the "leading journal" calculated it at the rate of L.250,000 a-month (25 lakhs of rupees), or L.3,000,000 sterling a-year. Our financial *Friend*, writing in November 1852, says—"Lord Dalhousie began the Burmese war not merely with L.12,000,000 sterling of cash balance in the treasury, but with L.2,000,000 sterling in excess of the sum which was in hand when the Second Punjaub War commenced in 1848, and it is doubtless to this circumstance we are to attribute the fact of his having been able to meet the heavy expenses of a maritime war like that we are now engaged in, with so much ease and freedom, and to disappoint the expectations of those who were looking for a new five per cent. loan. Even if the war should therefore cost L.2,000,000 sterling, the treasury will only be reduced to the same position in which it stood on the 30th of April 1848."

Returning to the Governor-General's Minute, he assures the Committee that if it "requires this Government to protract the war, to continue the advance to Ava, and to seize a vast and unprofitable region, they must be prepared to hear of exhausted cash-balances and re-opened loans." Even should Umeerapoora be captured, the task would be but half done. The Committee are referred to the map of Burmah, where it will find that "six degrees of latitude must still be traversed before the subjuga-

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tion of the Burman power will be effected. That tract of country is mountainous, jungly, and peopled with wild tribes. The difficulties of subduing this tract cannot be stated, because they cannot be calculated. . . . . Territory, 800 miles in length, from the sea to Assam, and varying in breadth from Arracan to the borders of China, will have been added to the British possessions in the East. Once taken it must be held. . . . . No hill people is contemptible among its own hills." Lord Dalhousie alludes to an attempt to coerce the Nagas round Assam some two years ago, which was attended with no very brilliant results; the same might be the case with the Shans and other hill tribes with whom we would now come in contact. On every principle his Lordship seems to deprecate the entire subjugation of the Burmese Empire; he thinks it neither worth the trouble nor the expense. The King of Ava's crown is one of tinsel, and will secure its own downfall. The glory of the dynasty of Alompra, come what may, is on the eve of departing for ever. We may some day be solicited by numerous unknown tribes to go forth and spread the light of civilisation among them. Such thoughts are apt to strike one in the perusal of the Minute now under consideration. The Governor-General is satisfied, from all the information within his reach, "that the revenues of Burmah would not be sufficient to meet the extra expense which the possession of Burmah would impose upon us." Again, "the policy which would

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fix the frontier near to Ava would assuredly leave us still without a Treaty of Peace, and with the prospect of an indefinite continuance of hostilities between the two States. My own conviction remains, as I have already expressed it, that the King would make no overtures and no submission. On our approach to Ava he would retire into his highlands, as was their declared policy before, and as recent intelligence, received through Armenian merchants at Ava, shows to be the King's intention now." About the same time as these words were written another opinion was entertained as to the probability of the King's flight into the jungles on the capture and occupation of Ava. It was said that those well informed on the subject had declared that such a contingency could never arise. The King could not leave his capital; if he did, his flight would be followed by immediate destruction. So much for opinion, well defined by Dean Swift as "light of foot and headstrong, yet giddy and perpetually turning!" And we cannot help thinking that, notwithstanding the golden immortal charm that is ever said to hover around the dignity of Ava, his Majesty would retire on our approach at an unquestionable speed to the jungle regions. Were he to get among that strange and mysterious race, the Shans, they might deliver him up any day to us for 5,000 pieces of silver; or, owing him a grudge for past injuries received, they might seek to annihilate the dynasty of Alompra in destroying him

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and all his followers. Siam would rejoice at the annihilation; and this, in some way or other, at no very distant period must take place. We shall no doubt be quite ready for the *coup d'etat!* for we shall have been prepared for it by the prudent policy of the Governor-General of India in the Second Burmese War.

But even if the King should forego the intention of flight, there is, in the opinion of Lord Dalhousie, "no hope whatever of his signing such a treaty as the Committee has required." Even at Ava he would not consent to "cede the fairest portion of his kingdom to us, and confine himself for the future to forest and barren hills." No peace therefore will have been concluded; and why, at the present time, should we be "encumbered with 400 miles of additional territory, with enhanced expenses and disproportionate returns." With regard to what was stated by the Secret Committee, that with the mere annexation and occupation of Pegu the Government would be under the necessity of constantly maintaining a force upon a war footing in that district for its defence, the Governor-General remarks, "I hold a treaty of any kind with the Burmese to be so valueless, that the conclusion of one would not induce me to keep one regiment less in Pegu than if there were no treaty. . . . Nor would the force be kept on a 'war footing' if there were no treaty, any more than if it were negotiated. . . . . By long-established practice all troops crossing the sea receive the higher

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allowances; wherefore, for the present at least, and until a great change be made, the higher allowances could not be withheld from the troops in Pegu." Lord Dalhousie brings forward the case of the Ameer Dost Mahommed Khan in 1849, when he entered the Punjaub in arms against the British Government, and occupied Peshawur. After the surrender of the Sikhs, the Dost was chased out of the country, and the province was occupied by the British. The Governor-General's policy not to enter into any treaty with him was approved of by the Committee. The people of the Punjaub, or elsewhere, do not consider our power one whit the less paramount because a treaty was not concluded with the wily Dost. But to proceed:—"The occupation of Pegu does, in my judgment," writes his Lordship, "afford reparation for the past, and will give effectual security for the future. The physical and commercial advantages that would accompany the possession of Pegu by the British Government were set forth in the Minute of the 30th of June. The enquiries which have been sedulously made since that time tend, as far as they go, to confirm the safe and moderate estimate which stated the revenues of Pegu at 25 lakhs a year. The annexation of a territory in perpetuity, producing the revenue above named, and susceptible of great and various improvement, will certainly pay for all the cost of its occupation and government, and fully re-imburse the State for all the charges of the present war." With respect

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to security for peace in the future, the loss of Pegu deprives the Burmese of the sinews of war, for it impoverishes the treasury of the Court of Ava, and takes the means of raising many soldiers on the "conscript" system out of their hands. "If the Burmese should nevertheless," says the Governor-General, "collect an army for attack, after the declared annexation of Pegu, we could desire nothing better. The frontier of Prome is not extensive. Its central portion is filled by the Galadzet mountains, covered with jungle and destitute of water, which are as impassable to the Burmese army as to us. The valley of Prome and the valley of Tonghoo are the only points of attack. . . . . If the Burmese should attempt to attack with an army, its destruction, if it will stand, or its total dispersion if it breaks, would be the certain consequence. . . . . Still, for some time, they may harrass the border by guerilla inroads." But with the aid of a friendly population this frontier skirmishing would very soon cease. It would die away. The Court of Ava would silently acquiesce in its loss, "though it would not openly assent to a cession."

Having arrived at this point—and writing from Tounghoo (or Tonghoo),—it may here be remarked, that we believe the difficulty of crossing the Galadzet mountains to be greatly exaggerated, as far as a British force is concerned. We think if Baron Humboldt were asked his opinion, he would say that where there were mountains and jungles there must be

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water. The passage across, of course would take time. And it is now to be regretted that when General Steel arrived at this station he did not urge an endeavour to reach Prome. With 50 elephants, the Irregular Cavalry, and one company of European Infantry, the General, an excellent horseman, might have rivalled Napoleon crossing the Alps. The feat would have astonished General Godwin, who would probably have resolved on walking a considerable part of the distance; for although some seven or eight years older than our Madras General, the pedestrian agility of the Chief of the Army of Burmah has often astonished far younger men!

Asking pardon for this digression, let us now attend to the Governor-General's assertion, that "if my anticipations should not be fulfilled,—and if, notwithstanding the superiority, which they cannot deny, and the risk, which they cannot fail to recognise, the Burmese should really dispute our possession, still I earnestly contend that an onward territorial movement should be avoided to the last. .....Though I am strongly opposed to an advance on Ava, followed by a retirement to Prome, I would advise that even that costly military operation should be undertaken before Burmah be made and declared a British possession." And now comes what, in our humble opinion, is the finest passage in the Despatch:—"But if, after all, peace cannot be procured by any thing short of the conquest of Burmah; if the lapse of time and the course of

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events shall establish a real necessity for advance, then let us advance,—let us fulfil the destiny which there, as elsewhere, will have compelled us forward in spite of our own wishes, and let us reconcile ourselves to a course which will then have no alternative. Having made every honest exertion to stand fast, we shall go on with a clear conscience—with motives unimpeached; and we may rest tranquil as to the ultimate result." The Minute then proceeds to consider matter already set forth in the "Proclamation" Chapter of this volume. A letter should be addressed to the King of Burmah, "reciting more fully the origin, the object, and the results of the war." According to the desire of the Committee, or with the object of giving effect to their orders, the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace between the States is to be proposed to the King. "If the Court of Ava desires to secure itself from further assaults by the Power which it has found itself wholly unable to resist, it will cause the proper officers, duly accredited on its part, to repair to Prome, within one month from the dispatch of the letter to the King from that place, there to sign a treaty by which the Province of Pegu shall be ceded to the British Government, and relations of friendship shall be renewed." The probability of the letter in question not reaching the King now occurs to the mind of the Governor-General. European officers would perhaps meet with immediate death on its delivery. No Burman

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would undertake to be the bearer. The Lord of the White Elephant holds heads but cheap in Ava! But through the wise measure of distributing large numbers of copies of the Proclamation over the country, the King will hear of annexation "though the letter should never reach him." The Secret Committee are then informed that the Governor-General in Council has selected Captain Phayre, the present Commissioner of Arracan, to be Commissioner of Pegu; that everything is in preparation for the establishment of a Civil Government in the new Province; and that all will come into operation as soon as the Proclamation of Annexation "shall have been publicly promulgated."

We have now endeavoured to set before the reader the leading points of Lord Dalhousie's policy, in as brief a space as was compatible with doing justice to his Minutes and the last extraordinary Despatch. This document of November 3, 1852, is distinguished by three leading qualities—decision of character, a desire of economy, and the wish to shew that a paramount Power can afford wisely to act with moderation under very difficult circumstances. The difficulties for a statesman to contend with in this Burmese War have been indeed great. Who will deny that the pilot has weathered the storm well, as he did before in other quarters in troublous times? Who will deny him a place beside such Governors-General as the Marquess Wellesley, Lord William Bentinck, and Lord Hardinge?

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On the 23d of December 1852, the Secret Committee replied to the Governor-General in Council. They approve of the course the Governor-General proposes to pursue. "We should deplore," say they, "the necessity of further conquest, and we strongly feel the very serious objections to the annexation of any other portion of the Burman Empire." The Committee "see with satisfaction, by the Minute of Sir John Littler, whose military experience entitles his opinion to great consideration, that he does not estimate the difficulties of an advance upon Ava as being of so grave a character as to present a material obstacle to the adoption of that course, if it should be rendered necessary by the persevering hostility of the Burmese." Sir John advocated an advance on Ava without an occupation. It is probable that General Godwin entertained the same idea in September 1852, when he made his speech at the Artillery dinner. And none could be more natural for a military man to entertain, who, from the very nature of his profession, is calculated to look more at the immediate effect and glory of a thing than at the after consequences. Yet, for anything we know, the two Generals may have well considered the future, after planting the British standard on the battlements of Ava!

The Governor-General's letter to His Majesty the King of Ava is dated November 16, 1852. It is simply the Proclamation in detail; but there is

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important matter regarding the Treaty by which the conquered Province of Pegu was to be ceded to the Government of India. Should His Majesty's accredited officers sign, then the Government of India, on its part, "will bind itself to renew relations of friendship with your Majesty, and to grant liberty to trade in security within the British territories to your Majesty's subjects, permitting the usual trade and supplies of your kingdom to pass its frontier in Pegu, on the payment of such moderate duties as it may fix." The following is the

DRAFT OF TREATY.

Treaty of Peace between the Honourable East India Company, on the one part, and His Majesty the King of Ava, on the other; settled by His Excellency Commodore G. R. Lambert, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Naval Force in the East Indies, Major-General Henry Godwin, C. B., commanding the British Forces in Ava, and Captain Arthur Purves Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu, on the part of the Honourable Company; and by

, on the part of the King of Ava;

who have each communicated to the other their full powers.

ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company, on the one part, and His Majesty the King of Ava, on the other.

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ARTICLE II.

His Majesty the King of Ava cedes to the Honourable East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, the Province of Pegu, being the territories to the southward of the boundary hereinafter described, namely :—

ARTICLE III.

The Honourable East India Company, and His Majesty the King of Ava, will each permit the subjects of the other to carry on trade within their respective dominions, and they will give to such traders full protection and security.

ARTICLE IV.

This Treaty shall be ratified by His Majesty the King of Ava, within one month; the British Commissioner engaging that it shall be ratified by the Governor-General in Council, and delivered to the Burmese Commissioners, within one month, at Prome.

Done at , this
day of 185 .

The late illustrious Duke of Wellington's opinion on the Second Burmese War will be found in the Appendix.*

* No. XIV.

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HAVING now related the annexation of a new Province to our dominions in the East, and holding the opinion that it is highly politic to increase those dominions when we can do so with a due regard to our own interests and to those of others, we are led, at a time when the government of India forms one of the prominent objects of public attention, to muse over the progress we have made during a wonderful century of government. If even a Frenchman—remembering too the scenes of the glory of Dupleix, Labourdonnais, Lally, and Bussy—styled the government of the East India Company "one of the most glorious works of civilization," why should any of our own countrymen, without having weighed the matter, be prone to condemn, or simply to wish for change? In the little city of Pondicherry — the Niobe of the French possessions in India—the traveller of the present day will probably hear, as the writer has heard before him, the intelligent circles of the Paris of the East expressing their wonder and admiration on the subject of the government of India—"the result of circumstances rather than of design"—a piece of machinery surpassing all that could be devised by the most cunning legislator—a system which could not wisely be replaced by any other. It is pleasant to know that the country in which so many of our destinies are cast has made considerable progress under the East India Company, This government, it has been well expressed, "is

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extraordinary in its design, singular in its conduct;"* it is a system pursued among a strange people who like not sudden innovations, millions of whom seem to persist in remaining "unchangeable in the midst of change!" Who that knows aught concerning India and her people will not agree with the remark † that "Europe and South America, if not India, have had quite enough of Governments by design—of Governments not the results of circumstances, but of theories; and we should be sorry were India the prey of constitution-makers!" Modify and correct if you will, but do not attack in order to destroy. The attempt carries failure in the face of it, as sure as ever failure was, or ever will be!

It is to be hoped that even in a quarter of a century hence a decided progress will be observable among the inhabitants of Pegu. As has been said before, there is easier and better material to work upon here; and the Talains, seeing that we have been the means of rescuing them from tyranny and oppression, will no doubt aid us in the general cause of improvement, when our system of government has fairly begun to work, buoyed up with the hope of seeing Pegu rise in its beauty again, and themselves, although not an independent, at least a peaceful and happy Nation!

Upon our occupation of the Tenasserim Provinces after the last war, we are informed that our

* *History of the British Conquests in India*, by Horace St John.
† *Economist.*

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rule commenced very properly, " by disturbing as little as possible the systems of revenue, police, and justice, to which the people had been accustomed under their Burmese rulers." By the Burmese the chief portion of the State revenue derived from land, was levied in kind; and one-fourth of the crop of rice was nominally the share claimed by the Government.* But on account of the distance of the southern provinces from Ava, the Burmese Governors and their subordinates had a large field for the exercise of tyranny and exaction. Garden produce, fruit trees, the farming of fisheries, town dues, and other modes of raising money, likewise yielded revenue for the State as well as for the Governors. [The judicial officers appointed by our Government are the Commissioner, his Assistants, the Tseekays, and the Goung Gyouks.] With the exception of taking revenue from the land in kind, the above fiscal system was adopted by us; from which period the revenue system of the Tenasserim Provinces, apparently for some years, went through so many fluctuations and errors as to impress us with the idea that a Colonel Read, with his assistant Munro, (afterwards the great Sir Thomas) were much wanted in this corner of our dominions in the East. There is no saying what these lords of the Ryotwari system, and masters in all relating to land revenue, would have done under the circumstances; but,

* *Calcutta Review*, No. xv, p. 90. That branch of revenue derived from teak forests was unknown to the Burmese.

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doubtless, they would have done something—have invented some mode of raising a just revenue which should at least bring the territory nearer paying its civil and military expenses than has hitherto been attained.* It would now appear, notwithstanding a similar drawback to these Provinces—that of a scanty population—reasonable to expect that Pegu, with all its natural advantages, will not eventually disappoint the Government; there is every chance of a speedy increase of population; and even in a few years, with judicious management, guided by experience, which qualities distinguish the head of Pegu's Government, this once ancient kingdom may furnish a fair and sufficient revenue for every purpose. The Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, whose jurisdiction now includes a portion of Pegu to the eastward, as far as Shoé-Gyne, will also have an admirable field for the developement of his talents in the endeavour to bring his now extensive territory into a prosperous and paying condition. As regards the commercial capital of Pegu, the ground-rent of Rangoon alone, it is said, will furnish no inconsiderable source of income. Captain Phayre

* Major Broadfoot, the hero who fell at Moodkee, altered the whole fiscal system of the Provinces, "substituting a fixed money payment in lieu of the levy of one-fourth of the grain in kind or commuted in money; he abolished taxes on trees and garden produce, and those on turtle-banks and fisheries; in place of the latter he established a species of poll-tax, so regulated that a cultivator paid about one-third of what was exacted from a non-cultivator."—*Calcutta Review.*

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has already begun to lay the foundation of a healthy and wealthy metropolis of Eastern Asia. And now, towards the close of this Narrative, it comes as a sort of duty to notice a monstrous fallacy recently put forth by one of the great daily journals of England,—nothing less than the assertion that "each new acquisition had added to our debt, and has impoverished India." Is this partizan-like style of writing and ignorant reasoning concerning Indian affairs never to cease even among our Leviathans of Journalism? In the account of the revenues and charges of the Punjaub and Trans-Indies territory for 1840-1850, and the succeeding year, we find a surplus of upwards of 60 lakhs of rupees. If we deduct from this what is styled "an extra military expenditure" of 30 lakhs—much of which would have been expended had annexation never taken place—there is then a clear surplus of 30 lakhs! The last accounts of the same territory give a surplus of about half a million sterling, subject to the same deductions. Should very minute statisticians give no weight to the fact that had we not annexed the Punjaub we would have had to watch it, consequently a large army to pay, without deriving any revenue from that territory. Supposing that Government, in the case of Pegu, had not annexed—had simply been contented with striking a blow; allowing that Burmese arrogance always goes on in an increasing arithmetical progression, would not Moulmein and Arracan have remained constant themes of anxiety

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and expense? There could be nothing so effective as taking away the "sinews of war" from a country like Ava! And this could only be done by annexation! Had the resources of Ava, by such a stroke of policy, been crippled in 1826, it is highly probable there would have been no Second Burmese War in 1853.

Again, another great London Daily Journal advised, shortly after we were settled at Rangoon, that the army should be withdrawn from Burmah, and that we should retire to Calcutta "with as little loss of time as possible;" thus we have a mighty organ of the Press attempting to destroy the prestige of the power of that very Empire which it so elegantly styled, some years ago, "the most splendid dominion under the sun!"

We are thankful to have some journalists in India able and willing to expose such rank absurdities as have just been alluded to; and it is only to be regretted that these are not more universally read in England. But we are not always perfect in our views of matters, even in the Eastern quarter of the universe. Our esteemed Indian Quarterly* has a fallacy or two which have been commented on by one of the Calcutta Journals. The annexation of Pegu, thinks the Reviewer, will be followed "by the rapid establishment of an Eastern Empire." This is all very well—Who does not hope it may? But after giving England new possessions, in addition to Pegu,

* *Calcutta Review, September* 1852.

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such as the Shan States and the Gulf of Siam, and having established his empire, he is of opinion that such acquisitions would not pay. It must suffice to assert that we do not see why an "Eastern Empire" should speedily follow the annexation of Pegu; but if such should take place, we maintain that the said "Empire" would not only pay, if properly managed, but afford a considerable surplus to the future Emperors!

On the 20th of June a letter arrived, having been brought across the Galadzet mountains from Prome in six days, a distance of at least 120 miles, making the runner's trip at the rate of 20 miles a-day. General Godwin was about to start for Meeaday, and then move southward and complete his tour of inspection at the various military posts—which steps seemed to augur, on our part, a decided termination to the war.

But all doubt on the latter point was put an end to by the arrival of news at the end of June, to the effect that an Ambassador had arrived at Prome with a message from the King of Ava, stating that although he would not sign away any of his territory he would nevertheless allow us to remain in the country, and would give orders to his Generals not to molest us;—and that he wished the blockade on the Irrawaddy withdrawn, and a free trade to be established between the two Nations! We should have been inclined to consider this a piece of consummate craft, had it not been a well-known fact

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that the unfortunate people to the northward were starving—that traffic had almost ceased—that taxes of course could not be paid,—and that if such a state of things continued, the remnant of the glory of Ava's Kingdom must soon depart, without the necessity of our moving one mile from Meeaday.

We deem it necessary to make special mention in this Narrative of the admirable measures adopted for enabling us to defeat any attempt of the Burmese to recover a position in the Aeng Pass or its vicinity. Captain Nuthall's gallant surprise of the Aeng Stockade* was followed up by a garrison there. The Tonghoo Pass being also garrisoned, British communication *via* Arracan, was brought to within three days' journey from Prome. "From the crest of the Nareghain Pass," writes an Officer, "the valley and course of the Irrawaddy are distinctly visible, and present a very beautiful and interesting sight." Two Officers have been employed to survey these Passes, which must become "the main line of communication between Prome, the upper part of Pegu, and Calcutta." And now, in a few years, we may hope to see the Governor-General of India, by means of electric telegraph, in communication with Prome and Meeaday! Truly, what may we soon expect to see the wizard—Science—leave undone! The magic wires will speak,—announce a kingdom's fall, or utter forth a kingdom's prosperity,—tell from Europe of an

* Narrated at p. 207 *supra*. On this occasion Captain Nuthall and two Sepoys were wounded.

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Emperor's ambitious views, or herald forth an approaching revolution; all these things are likely enough to be telegraphed in Eastern Asia! How different from the time when Sir A. Campbell shewed his foresight by ordering a body of men to Aeng under Captain Ross, to pioneer the way for any future force, as the Aeng road over the Arracan mountains had not been explored by any Officer of General Morrison's unfortunate army! However, we should even be grateful to that army, for through it the Burmese lost Arracan on the 1st of April 1825. Mr Quinn, the Conductor, it should have been remarked, had returned to Prome, and we understand that he declared there was not a single stockade to be seen all the way from Meeaday to Ava!

Among the Christian prisoners who had been liberated by Prince Memdoon in his struggle for the Throne of the Golden Foot, were two Catholic Priests; a Mr Speirs, formerly Captain of a vessel at Rangoon; and the above named Mr Conductor Quinn, attached to the Bengal Ordnance Department. The last extraordinary man figured in a letter given elsewhere. There is always something to create a vast interest in the mind about the circumstance of a prisoner of war. Here was a man who strayed beyond the safe boundary at Prome, probably "whistling as he went for want of thought," who believed the presence of an enemy to be a fable. Behold him coolly ascending a tree, then employed in getting a spy-glass to the proper focus, then sur-

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veying the surrounding country in the most consummate self-confidence! The Burmese observe him—he is surrounded—becomes a prisoner of war—and is led off in triumph to Ava. He refuses food—even kicks away the proffered meal—he is but a poor prisoner—his heart is sick—he is about to die. He reaches Ava. As a stroke of conciliation with the British, the successful Prince releases the Conductor, and once more the hitherto unfortunate man is a child of the glorious goddess Liberty! Who would not be a prisoner of war for such a brilliant consummation!

Having thus remarked concerning prisoners of war, one is led to think of a concluding event of the former campaigns, just before the Treaty of Yandaboo was signed and sealed. The reader will probably recollect the arrival of a deputation and treasure from Ava, also of Dr Price, with the Judsons and other prisoners. The British camp at Yandaboo boasted one tent containing Mr and Mrs Judson. While Mr Judson's life was in the power of a cruel and sanguinary Court, the amiable wife was debarred from seeing her husband. While he remained in prison she supplied him with food, "occasionally contriving to communicate with him by hiding a slip of paper in the spout of a teapot; and at one period, the prisoners having been moved to a place of confinement several miles from Ava, she followed, and took up her abode in a miserable hut, where, to escape insult, she assumed the Burman

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attire."* We have no "romance" like this to write about in the Second War, and perhaps it is as well.

As Sir Archibald Campbell and General Godwin are the only two British Generals to whose lot it has yet fallen to conduct a war in these regions, it may not be deemed uninteresting, in conclusion, to note a few circumstances regarding each, with respect to their high command.

Sir A. Campbell, having distinguished himself in the Peninsula, where he commanded a division of the Portuguese army, was appointed to the Army of Ava some 12 or 14 years after he had won his European laurels. General Godwin, who, as Lieutenant-Colonel of a Queen's regiment, had served under him in the East, having distinguished himself in the Ava campaigns, was appointed to a similar command about 26 years after that war which has been so vividly narrated by Trant and Havelock, and so correctly by Professor Wilson.† With Sir A. Campbell there was European military experience to guide the war, which could not possibly include a practical knowledge of how to work Europeans and Sepoys together; the latter not having been supported by European infantry and a well-directed fire of artillery was the cause, every one knows, of such decided and bloody repulses as our troops met with at Kykloo and Wattegaum. With

* *Two Years in Ava.*

† Captain Doveton's *Reminiscences of the Burmese War in* 1824-5-6, is another work of interest.

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his European regiments there was much to admire in Sir A. Campbell as a soldier, but he knew nothing of Native Infantry. And putting the qualifications of the Sepoy out of the question—even as a political stroke of wisdom never to give our Native troops in the East a chance of being shown off to disadvantage—this want of knowledge was of serious consequence. General Godwin, although a Queen's Officer, throughout the operations of the Second War has proved himself well aware of the advantages to be derived from using the Sepoy. In no instance did he allow the Natives to advance ineffectively supported by Europeans; and thus supported, they really did admirably at Rangoon, Bassein, and Pegu, to say nothing of Donnabew and several minor affairs. Even in his greatest error—that of leaving Pegu with too small a garrison after its capture—more than half of that small but gallant band was composed of Europeans. The Sepoy could not have been better supported; and no doubt he would have aided in slaying the Burmese wholesale, by the side of the European, had an opportunity offered, even against the thousands of infuriated warriors who surrounded the Pagoda.

Before Sir A. Campbell's army was sent to Rangoon a supposition was entertained that should an advance on Ava be necessary it might be accomplished by embarking the troops in Burmese boats, which would reach the city of Ava* in three or four

* A distance of about 600 miles.

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months. It never occurred to those who dictated this line of operations that the Burmese might have the means of withholding from us the resources of the country, on which it would be necessary in such a movement to place great dependence. Having selected Rangoon as the chief point of attack, it was also thought that the Burmese would submit on hearing of the fall of the famous city built by Alompra.

Twenty-eight years after, on General Godwin's arrival with a splendid array of steamers and comparatively few transports, subsequent to the "brilliant feat of arms" which placed Rangoon in our possession, a speedy advance on the capital was declared by many to be the only mode of bringing matters to a conclusion. Again, little thought was given to the probability of the Burmese cutting off our supplies, or withholding the resources of the country, or to the fact that but very few of the steamers were suitable for such an advance. In the case of both Generals public expectation was filled with the idea of a brilliant and speedy termination to the war. The distinguished Peninsula Officer was expected to bring about all this in the first war, and all-powerful steam was to do every thing that was needful in the second. We say all-powerful steam, for it was believed by many, from no knowledge of the Commander, but from sheer assumption on the score of years, that General Godwin, in spite of his Burmese experience, would be fit for

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nothing—that he would be "simply in the way." Age is a personal business with which the public have nothing whatever to do. For no other crime than that of having lived a little longer than most men through the changing scenes of life, vollies of abuse were discharged in England against our gallant General, and that too before he was put to the test. Even the philanthropic spirit of "a noble and learned lord" opposed to the war, was roused to give utterance to the liberal sentiment that the General's appointment to command the expedition was a very proper one. He was acquainted practically and personally with Burmah, he had already obtained distinction there, and it was therefore likely that he would carry on the war with greater advantage than any other Officer. Who among us would object to a command, should he have the good fortune to enjoy what Dryden styles "a green old age"—a youth renewed like the eagle's? We do not advocate the employment of old Generals as a safe rule in the army; they do not always boast that matured judgment for which they get credit; but when strong recommendations in their favour appear, it is very hard and unfair that, without having been weighed in the balance, they should be declaimed as wanting! Sir A. Campbell had the good fortune to steer clear of all such calumny at the period of his appointment. Then public feeling in England against war was not so violent as it is at present. The National advantages obtained by Waterloo

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were being reaped in abundance. In India the Mahratta Power had only a few years before been subdued; and in the case of a Burmese war it was merely turning the course from the west to the extreme east. On one occasion the Burmese authorities had actually written to the Marquis of Hastings asserting their right to the Province of Bengal. Then we had no Punjaub—no Scinde—under our government. Altogether, the times were more favourable to the First Burmese War than the Second. Far less shackled, if shackled at all, than General Godwin, and with a new and determined enemy, Sir A. Campbell had also frequent opportunities of displaying that persevering enterprise which the British always admire, and than which, when discreetly used, nothing can be more worthy of admiration. General Godwin had not so many opportunities. The efficiency of steam aided in rendering the opening campaign of the Second Burmese War truly brilliant. It would seem therefore that no satisfactory comparison can be instituted between the two Commanders, under the circumstances. The health of the troops, in comparison with the former campaigns, shows to great advantage. We behold no army perishing in the swamps of Arracan from the want of the Commander's experience of the climate. As far as hardships and the want of supplies are concerned, we are not too proud to yield the palm to the former Army of Ava. The First War was a far

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longer and more tedious one than the Second; and it was declared to end "in a manner highly honourable to the British Government." As regards the expenditure of life and treasure, "look on this picture and on this!" As regards energy and military capacity it is pleasant to turn to pictures of the two Chiefs,—to the one with the eye of the past, when we behold him busy at work preparing to retrieve what we had lost by the repulse at Donnabew,* and again at the final action of Pagahm Mew, a city of former splendour, where he directed the column in person against the Infernal King:† To the other with the eye of the present, when we behold him in his General's cap and plume, while so many were suffering from the terrific heat of the sun, as active as the younger men on the field on the 12th of April, while fighting our way towards the Great Pagoda,—in all his prompt energy during the bustle and preparation for the relief of Pegu,—and again, when directing the assault against that capital's noble temple. In both cases we have true soldiers anxious to serve their country faithfully and well. The result of the Second Burmese War is infinitely more satisfactory than that of the First.

* The news of this was forwarded by Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, H. M.'s 41st, in a quill, to Head-Quarters.

† "The King of Hell," as he was styled, the Golden Foot's last resource as a Commander. The battle of Pagahm Mew was fought on the 9th of February 1826. It was nearly bloodless on our side, and 55 pieces of artillery were captured. This was the last action of the First Burmese War.

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Great Britain, for the first time, has secured a firm footing in Eastern Asia. The link between our possessions on the Ganges and the vast Hindu-Chinese regions has been rendered complete. A mighty work is done—a great political triumph has been accomplished! Should Destiny impel us forward still, a few years in Pegu will make us quite ready for the service. Before that time arrives it is probable the King of Ava will be in every sense a strenuous advocate for Free Trade. Some enterprising members of the British Senate may travel this way, and expound some new and unheard of principles of Political Economy to His Majesty of the Golden Foot and the Golden Ear!

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NOTIFICATION.

FORT-WILLIAM, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT,
the 30th June 1853.

IN the Proclamation by which the Province of Pegu was annexed to the British dominions in the East, the Governor-General in Council declared that he desired no further conquest in Burmah, and was willing to consent that hostilities should cease. Thereafter the Burman troops were everywhere withdrawn. The King was dethroned by his brother, the Mengdoon Prince, and an Envoy was sent from Ava to sue for peace. The Burman Envoy—confessing their inability to resist the power of the British Government, and submissively soliciting its forbearance—announced his willingness to sign a Treaty in accordance with the Proclamation, objecting only to the frontier being placed at Meeaday. The Government of India, while it maintained its undoubted right to fix the frontier where it had been placed, at the same time gave signal proof of the sincerity of its desire for the renewal of friendly relations between the States; for, in the hope of at once concluding a Treaty of Peace, the Governor-General in Council consented to withdraw the frontier from Meeaday, and to place it, in strict conformity to the most literal wording of the Proclamation, immediately to the northward of Prome and Tonghoo,—cities which have been described at all times as within the northern limits of Pegu, in the official records of transactions between the two States.

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But when this concession was offered, the Burman Envoy, wholly receding from his previous declarations, refused to assent to any Treaty by which a cession of territory should be made. Hereupon the negotiations were at once broken off. The frontier of the British territories was finally fixed to the northward of Meeaday and Tonghoo, and the Envoy was directed to quit the camp.

The Envoy proceeded to the capital, whence he has now conveyed to the Government of India the sentiments and proposals of the Court of Ava.

The King expresses his desire for the cessation of war. The King announces that "orders have been issued to the Governors of districts not to allow the Burmese troops to attack the territories of Meeaday and Tonghoo, in which the British Government has placed its garrisons." Furthermore, the King has set at liberty the British subjects who had been carried prisoners to Ava; and he has expressed his wish that "the merchants and people of both countries should be allowed, in accordance with former friendship, to pass up and down the river for the purpose of trading." Mindful of the assurance he gave that hostilities would not be resumed so long as the Court of Ava refrained from disputing our quiet possession of the Province of Pegu, the Governor-General in Council is willing to accept these pacific declarations and acts of the King as a substantial proof of his acquiescence in the proposed conditions of peace, although a formal Treaty has not been concluded: Wherefore the Governor-General in Council permits the raising of the river blockade, consenting to the renewal of former intercourse with Ava, and now proclaims the restoration of Peace. The Army of Ava will no longer be maintained on a war establishment. At the same time, a force will be permanently retained in Pegu amply adequate for

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its defence and fully prepared for the event of war. The Governor-General in Council, while he announced the successive events of the war, has gladly seized each fitting occasion for bestowing promptly on the several officers whose services were mentioned with distinction, the cordial thanks and approbation of the Government of India. His Lordship in Council deems it unnecessary now to repeat in detail acknowledgments of individual merit that are still so recent; but he cannot close the record of this war without again conveying to the Services generally an assurance of the admiration with which he has viewed the combined exertions, whereby, under God's good providence, the supremacy of our power in the East has once more been asserted and upheld. [Then follow thanks, naming the higher officers.]

In testimony of the sense that is entertained of the services and conduct of the combined Force, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that a donation of six months' batta shall be issued to all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the several Naval and Military Forces that have been employed during the progress of the war with Burmah. And it shall be the further care of the Governor-General in Council to bring their services and conduct under the special notice, and to commend them to the most favourable consideration, of Her Majesty's Government and of the Honourable Court of Directors.

By Order of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council,

(Signed) J. P. GRANT,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

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At the termination of hostilities the troops were quartered at the following Stations and Outposts :—

Rangoon.	Shoe-Gyne.	Shoe-Doung.
Yandoon.	Tonghoo.	Padoung-Mew.
Bassein.	Moulmein.	Tomboo.
Pegu.	Prome.	Henzadah.
Sitang.	Meeaday.	Donnabew.

Grand total actually present,—346 European officers; 177 Native officers; 4,334 European non-commissioned officers and men; 8,242 Native non-commissioned officers and men,—in all 13,099.

The Army was divided into two Divisional Commands, held by Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape at Prome, and by Brigadier-General Steel at Rangoon. The Staff of each Division was to remain—a highly prudent arrangement—until the new territory became perfectly secure on the frontier. The Army being now distributed over Pegu, recalls the memorable words of the Governor-General in his Despatch of 3d November :—"By the annexation of Pegu we hold in the easy grasp of our hand the kernel of the Burman Empire. Why should we, by the occupation of Ava, encumber ourselves with an armful of worthless rind? But if, after all, peace cannot be procured by anything short of the conquest of Burmah; IF THE LAPSE OF TIME AND THE COURSE OF EVENTS SHALL ESTABLISH A REAL NECESSITY for advance, THEN LET US ADVANCE." Meanwhile let us hope that our new possession — extending beyond the 19th parallel of latitude—a fertile country more than twice the size of Holland, with a friendly and unwarlike people — may rise to a high state of prosperity, without "encumbering ourselves with an armful of worthless rind!"

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SUPPLEMENT

TO THE PEGU CHAPTERS.

PEGU TRANSACTIONS IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER 1852, AND JANUARY 1853.

PEGU, forming as interesting a subject in the present volume, the author would fain believe, as did Rangoon in a former one, an opportunity is gladly embraced for giving some additional information concerning transactions which, from want of authentic intelligence, we were unable to bring forward in their proper course. They are drawn from the manuscript of a distinguished Officer present throughout the arduous service; and so now any sins of omission on our part previously committed, may be fully atoned for by this Supplement to the Pegu Chapters. A few other remarks may also be incorporated with the succeeding details.

Mention has been made in the Narrative of Moung-Kyouk-Loung. His entire force consisted of 11,000 men, disposed as follows:—2,000 men at Shoé-Gyne, 97 miles north of Pegu; 1,000 men at Sitang, 32

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miles east of Pegu; and 8,000 at Pegu,* which latter force opposed the British troops on the 21st of November 1852. In addition to the small body left to garrison the Pagoda,—which post was under the command of Major W. Hill of the 1st Madras Fusiliers,—to keep the river clear of the enemy's boats passing by, two gun-boats were also left at Pegu under the command of Lieutenant Mason, R.N., of H. M. S. *Fox*. Each boat carried a 12-pounder howitzer and 12-pounder rockets. The boats were completely hidden from the Pagoda by thick belts of bamboo jungle, which grew up to within 100 yards of the Great Temple.

General Godwin had left the once famous capital of an independent kingdom, assured that no force would again assemble in that part of the Province. So little did he think of the enemy daring to attack the garrison of Pegu, that he left a Peguese Chief, by name Moung-Loung, with about 50 followers, to induce the families of the inhabitants to come in, settle themselves quietly in their houses, and re-people the then almost ruined and deserted city. But this glorious consummation was not in the order of things; and, as has been seen, was not destined to be accomplished. It was too much, after losing the Shoé-Dagoon—the stronghold of Gaudama—to lose also the Shoémadoo Praw, which for so many centuries had towered in sublime magnifi-

* Under Moung-Gyee, the Commander-in-Chief's brother-in-law.

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cence to the skies.* Some idea of what the troops had to defend may be gained from the following particulars:—The Pagoda stands upon three terraces; the upper one contained the troops of the garrison and the commissariat stores; the upper platform was nearly a square, each side of which measured from 210 to 220 yards.† A low brick wall, three feet high, had formerly enclosed the upper platform. The dilapidation of the walls was on every side apparent, and on the north-east and west sides scarcely any wall remained, but high reedy grass had sprung up—vegetation, as usual, rapid amid the scene of neglect and ruin. A range of low buildings ran along each face in a line with the walls, which no troops occupied. There was a Poonghee house on each side, and adjoining the base of the Pagoda itself. In these sanctuaries the Officers were quartered, one only being reserved for a magazine. There were four large entrances on the top platform, open, and about 30 feet wide: to join these entrances from below there were between 30 to 40 flights of steps. The second terrace was 12 feet below the upper, and extended about 40 feet on all sides from the wall. There was then another descent of 6 feet, when a third terrace also ran about 40 feet. The second and third terraces

* Height varying from 330 feet to 360; in the former 9 feet higher than the Great Dagoon Pagoda.

† The terrace on which the Shoé Dagoon at Rangoon stands is 900 feet long and 685 broad.

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respectively, were 320 and 450 yards in length on each side of the Pagoda.* The admirable view of this famous Temple, drawn by Lieutenant Grant of the Madras Fusiliers,† will doubtless commend itself to every lover of the picturesque. The high grass which had grown up all round prevented our posted sentries in many places from seeing each other. "Those who are acquainted with Burmese warfare will readily understand how very much exposed our troops were to a sudden surprise, when Burmese are so skilful in preserving silence when creeping through grass to cut down sentries." There were a great many small Pagodas on the east and west sides, a little way beyond the lower terrace. These were so close to each other that on the east face, about 120 yards off, they formed a complete wall 40 yards in length, behind which the enemy were in perfect safety. Numerous other Pagodas were dotted about at distances from 100 to 600 yards, and these became formidable barricades when jingals and matchlocks were fired from behind them. The remaining very important advantage on the side of the enemy was, that the north and east sides of the country being higher than the platform, caused every man to be observed passing to and fro. The gallant defenders, it will

* Each side of the base of the Temple measures 162 feet. The shape is octagonal at the base. See *Narrative of Operations at Rangoon*, Appendix IX, p. 276.

† From the original by Lieutenant Williams, of the same corps.

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now be fully seen, were thus placed in a very critical position, with only 435 men to defend what required at least 1,200 to maintain, without harassing the soldiery.

But, not at all strange in this contrary world of ours, the very fact of a small band being left to garrison Pegu, this military blunder on the part of the General was the means of achieving a decided political success. The prowess of the British arms was here displayed to its full extent, which must have struck terror into the hearts of the Burmese assailants, whose tale would run rapidly through the neighbouring hostile soldiery—all tending to bring about the conclusion of the war.

Major Hill commenced his work of defence by barricading the upper platform. Three of the four large entrances to the Pagoda were the first places to be looked to. The enemy were in the neighbourhood, and WORK became the order of the day. Parties from the Europeans and Natives were ordered out. The Peguese were employed in cutting down the high grass with their dhas,—their expertness in the use of which we have before noticed. All seemed determined to render the citadel as strong as possible. Two brass 4-pounders, and a 3-pounder, captured on the 21st of November, were placed in position at the gateways, which were built up the whole breadth of the entrance with timbers, about 12 feet high, leaving just a sufficient opening for the gun.

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The following is a detailed account of the attack on the river-picquet and boats on the night of the 27th of November. These did not escape the attention of the enemy; for though we heard but a few shots in that direction whilst the Pagoda was attacked, yet as soon as they drew off from us they made a desperate assault in that quarter, and we could tell from the firing increasing at intervals more than at others, that the attacks were being resumed; but the blue jackets, with their Marine Artillery, made such excellent use of their 12-pounder howitzers and rockets, that, with the support of the picquet on shore, they proved too strong for the Burmese. This was a very unequal contest. There were houses within 30 yards of where the picquet was posted, besides having brushwood all round, which enabled the enemy to conceal themselves, whilst our men were exposed on the bank of the river. Lieutenant P. A. Brown of the Fusiliers commanded on this occasion. Having commissariat stores to protect, that Officer with his men had taken the precaution before dark to pile up the bags of rice, tobacco, barrels, and other articles which were lying about, so as to have everything as compact as possible, and then make his post secure in case of an attack. Some of the bags caught fire during the night from the rockets, which encouraged the enemy to approach nearer, when some of our men dashed forward, charged them, and compelled them to retire. After continued assaults had been made upon

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this little post, British blood, as it always does, proved too much for them, and they withdrew leaving the picquet quiet for the rest of the night. On this, as on several other occasions during the war, the rocket practice of the boats' crews of Her Majesty's Navy was very good; and the effect of such practice, added to the untiring efforts of the gallant Infantry, plainly shewed what a small body of men can do against a large number. It is on such outpost affairs generally that the sharpest firing is seen. General Godwin complimented Major Hill and his force for their steady gallantry in this dashing business, and he trusted that the severe lesson which had been given the enemy would teach the Burmese respect for our new position and the vigilance of its garrison, so as to prevent any future molestation! Reference has already been made in this Narrative * to the conduct of Lieutenant P. A. Brown and of Private Clancey, in charging with the men when the provisions were on fire. For his gallantry Clancey was promoted to the rank of Sergeant. The loss sustained in the boats was four seamen and one marine artilleryman wounded. Three men of the Fusiliers were wounded. Lieutenant Mason, R. N., narrowly escaped with his life, a shot having cut through his neck-tie. It was singular that our loss on the 27th was not greater, as the enemy attacked also from the other side of the river, which is about 100 yards wide where the boats were in position.

* Chapter VIII, page 116.

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In consequence of the Burmese having attempted to escalade on three sides of the Pagoda on the night of the 27th, Major Hill found it necessary to appoint a Captain to command each face of the Pagoda, with instructions that if any one face was pressed by the enemy, the Captain on the side attacked was to concentrate his men at the given point of attack until support was given. This admirable arrangement gave a responsibility to the Officer commanding each face, and enabled him to act on a sudden without waiting for orders. The Commandants of faces appointed were Captains Stephenson and Nicolay of the Fusiliers, to the north and east faces respectively; and Captains Brown and Wyndham of the 5th N. I., to the west and south. This plan allowed Major Hill to have a general supervision over the whole of the operations, and enabled him to move about and give directions where his presence was most required.

It was soon learned from the manner of this night attack by the Burmese, that they had regularly trained troops opposed to us. Chosen crafty ones had doubtless found their way from the "city of the immortals" to assist Moung-Kyouk-Loung! Now our men might be seen climbing up the splendid Pagoda to take a *coup d'œil* of the surrounding country, and then would appear a cluster of Officers talking earnestly over the number of troops and the defences. Uncertainty hovered in the atmosphere. But this, with the British character, only tends to make

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the nerves firmer, and to raise expectation the higher. It is difficult to say what were the feelings of the detachment of the Native Infantry. The clever lady from the New World, who is gaining a world-wide celebrity for her tale which excites such deep sympathy for a complexion differing from our own, would have observed in their faces at least no signs of misery or dejection. They were FREE as any Briton, and ready at a moment's warning to fight or die by the side of British soldiers!

On the 29th, parties of the enemy were seen moving in various directions to the north of the Pagoda; Cassay horsemen were among them. Next were seen elephants moving about, bearing Officers of rank, all apparently determined on another plan of attack. All this of course tended to increase the vigilance of the garrison. Major Hill very prudently withdrew the picquet of 50 men on the open bank of the river, a mile away from the Pagoda; and Lieutenant Mason, with his boats, was desired to repair to Rangoon. Upwards of 40 men of the force were now sick in hospital, and the withdrawal of the river picquet brought additional aid for the defence. It was signally providential that the Burmese did not come on, for Moung-Loung, the Pegu Chief, reported to Major Hill during the forenoon of the 1st of December, that a very large train of carts with Talain families were then making their way to the southward, and that some of their Goungs (Chiefs) had come in advance to know whether they might

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claim protection from the garrison. At about 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day 216 carts, laden with the goods and chattels of 2,000 persons, chiefly women and children, came in for protection. These poor creatures had taken refuge in the jungles, wandered about from place to place, with of course no settled residence while the Royal troops remained in the Province. "Pity and protect the slave!" was never uttered by the swarthy African with more intense feeling than now marked the desires of those Asiatics—whose ancestors had had a king of their own to rule over them—as their eyes were directed to the British for protection! The ground covered by their carts occupied several acres, for it must be recollected the Pegu carts and buffaloes are of a prodigious size. It was now a matter of anxiety to afford protection to the families as well as to their property, whilst they lay scattered about, and the enemy were nigh at hand. The infirm, as well as all the women and children, were allowed to remain on the upper platform of the Pagoda during the night, while the others remained below to look after the cattle and goods. Reader, just picture to yourself the upper platform of the Pegu Pagoda! It is night, and the troops are wearied after the preparation and arrangements of the day. Sleep is just beginning to "knit up the ravelled sleeve of care!" Suddenly bursts forth the clamorous noise of children; the sentries cannot hear beyond the walls. There are sick children, and others wanting food; and

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behold! Several Officers up a great portion of the night feeding the weary and destitute with biscuit, to quiet the Peguese vociferation! The helpless now feel assured that Gaudama, through the influence of the fairies dwelling in the golden *tee* above, has sent guardian angels to protect them! As this arrangement inconvenienced the troops, it only lasted three nights. Major Hill determined on destroying all the houses in the street below, as they could only give cover to the enemy; and orders were thereupon issued to stockade in the Peguese under the walls of the Pagoda. This severe work was performed in a manner truly admirable,—Officers and men, every one assisting to fortify the oppressed, after their own national fashion! There is the European working with almost gigantic strength, felling down many a noble tree, working with a right good-will; there the skilful and active Sapper; and there the Sepoy, having stopped work for a time, grinning with a benevolent countenance! The husbands of those we had to protect only a few miles off, and forced to fight against us, were little dreaming of British humanity being exercised towards their kindred under the walls of Pegu. The stockade, covering about two acres of ground, was soon done. The carts and buffaloes were all systematically arranged, and took up their position in line and column in a manner quite worthy of the "Artillery Exercise." All were stockaded in by night-fall. The women and children were placed in the carts nearest to the walls, so as to shelter them as much

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as possible from the shot. The men were stationed in front, with their spears, matchlocks, and sharp dhās, to fight for their families—which they did fearlessly and well. Dr Beautfleur, the zealous Surgeon in charge of the stockaded allies, had several severe cases brought to him for treatment. Spies had been loitering about, and on the morning of the 4th we could discover from the elevations of the Pagoda that the movements of the enemy were more extensive than usual, and that they mustered in greater force. The Cassay horsemen did not now conceal their numbers from our view, and were seen galloping about in larger bodies. Towards the evening of that day faint sounds of firing were heard at intervals, as if from a long distance down the river. Night had set in, when a shot was fired from the jungle, which was immediately returned by the sentry who was fired at. Shortly before this it had been reported to Major Hill that a low sound of voices was heard, as of troops moving about in the jungle. Firing soon became the order of the night, and a discharge of cannister from a 24-pounder howitzer, in the direction of the voices, roused every one into action. Before 9 o'clock Major Hill was called away from the defences to two Sepoys of the 5th M. N. I., who had hailed the picquet from the jungle—the south picquet—the sergeant of which had brought them in. Fortunately for these men the firing, which was commenced at the Pagoda just before they arrived, was

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on the east face, whereas they came from the south.* Their object was to report the position of the jemadar and his men, whose fate was related at page 116 of this Work, and regarding whom the following additional details may be deemed acceptable:—The party sent at daylight next morning to their succour was, as previously stated, under the command of Captain Nicolay, and a 12 and 24-pounder howitzer were brought to bear upon the direction in which they had to go. The country boat, which was conveying slaughter-cattle and commissariat supplies to Pegu, was evidently deemed a valuable prize by the Burmese. Eight out of twenty-one bullocks were found to be shot, and nearly every remaining bullock was wounded. The unfortunate men must have been exposed to a considerable fire for a length of time. "It has been observed during this war that the Burmese are excellent skirmishers, and thoroughly understand how to take advantage of good positions. In the old outwork, 300 yards from the landing-place, there was a narrow gorge which the party had to pass through on their way back to the Pagoda. Captain Nicolay was aware that it would be a serious obstacle to his getting back should the enemy get possession of this; he therefore very judiciously strengthened and extended his skirmishers to prevent their outflanking him, by which means this im-

* Firing was kept up round the Pagoda, and did not cease until after midnight, when the moon rose.

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portant passage was held by his men." A very difficult duty had now been accomplished, and without the loss of a man. The Officers were sitting quietly at breakfast, discussing the deeds of night and morning, when the well-known cry of "Turn out!" raised a stir among all hands; at the sametime the Burmese shout of attack was heard at the south-west angle of the Pagoda. This was the force which had followed in Captain Nicolay's rear, and had now determined to try the effect of a surprise. While the firing at the south-west angle summoned the men to the walls, a very singular and guerilla-like scene was exhibited. In an instant heights, mounds, and Pagodas, were crowned with men, who opened a sharp but ill-directed fire against our troops. The little curling smoke was now to be seen issuing from the place where was perched each wily matchlock-man; the sky was beautifully clear; every object came to view; and the whole had the effect of a gorgeous panorama. It was soon discovered—from the Burmese balls coming among us from such elevated positions—that our enemies were likely to have the best of it. It was however highly ludicrous in the midst of danger to hear the men joking with each other as they brought down a man or so from his high pinnacle, on which the Burmese had so proudly perched themselves. The surprise having failed, the enemy were no doubt astonished to find that the Peguese were sheltered in a well-made stockade; there was the reality

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bristling up before their eyes! It was now evident from the enemy taking possession of the elevations, that they did not intend going away; and so decided an advantage did the heights give them of sweeping the platform with their shot, that nearly 50 rounds of ammunition per man were expended that day in keeping down their fire. To save life it was now requisite to barricade the Pagoda as strongly as possible. Lieutenant Campbell, the officer of Engineers,* had had no sand-bags supplied him to make a temporary defence; it was therefore necessary to apply to the Commissariat for all the empty bags and barrels he could give, and these being found inadequate, bags of rice, and barrels of pork and biscuit were also called for. As soon as it became dark the Sappers were set to work. At night gongs were heard in various parts of the jungle, as if the Burmese were assembling their troops. The firing was not so heavy during the night as it had been that day, still there was little cessation of it, while the working parties were heard about the walls. It was of importance to get the Peguese into military order in the event of an attack. Some 290 men had enrolled themselves as fighting men, but out of that number only 50 had muskets—our old flint-locks—while the remainder were armed with spears and swords. Major Hill visited the stockade, and with the assistance of a Burmese interpreter pointed out

* To whom the Author is indebted for the Plan of the Fort and Pagoda of Pegu, inserted in this volume.

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to Moung-Loung the way in which he wished his men to be disposed of should an assault take place. The men with fire-arms were placed at short distances between the spearmen, so as to give a greater appearance of strength in that particular arm; a certain number were told off as sentinels on duty, to be regularly relieved. The Goungs were placed so as to give orders, and to overlook their own men. Major Hill visited the stockade of the allies every night, to give them confidence and to see that they were all on the alert. To shew how much our troops were exposed on the platform notwithstanding all that had been done, the Officers' servants were obliged to erect some kind of protection for the beds of their masters and themselves when they lay down to rest. Several days and nights were passed without any cessation of firing. With all the fatigue of mind and body was excessive, particularly so with the indefatigable Commander of the garrison. The chance of being able to eat one's dinner without being shot at seemed remote indeed. An Officer of the Fusiliers received a severe contusion while seated at the mess-table; several servants were wounded, and one was killed while waiting upon his master. A Peguer also received a mortal wound while at work inside the mess-house. On the 8th the men began to feel the incessant work. Every man was daily on duty 10 hours out of the 24. The exposure and fatigue increasing, Major Hill at length deemed it absolutely necessary to inform

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General Godwin of the determined nature of the enemy. All ammunition expended, we would then be compelled to evacuate the Pagoda, and force a way back to Rangoon at the point of the bayonet. Four goodly men and true, for 50 rupees a-head, came forth from Moung-Loung's Detachment and volunteered to carry a letter to General Godwin. Three copies were sent with the original, so that each man had his letter. The Major did not ask for any more men, but added, "all I want is ammunition." As soon as it was dark the messengers started on their hazardous enterprise. There was a Burmese force on all sides of the Pagoda of at least 6,000 men, and had the carriers fallen into their hands they would probably have been decapitated or crucified, according to Burmese custom.

On the morning of the 12th the joyful sound of firing from British gun-boats ran like an electric shock through the weary garrison. But despair soon followed, our forebodings were indeed verified,—the naval party had failed in their attempt to communicate with us. From the crowded state of the stockade, together with the cold damp nights and the scanty supply of food they had, cholera broke out among our Peguese allies. Fortunately the scourge did not extend to the troops. The sudden withdrawal of the gun-boats, with relief so near at hand, quickly became the all-absorbing topic. But the assurance that General Godwin was now aware of our difficulties, served to rouse us to increased effort.

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After this event the enemy's fire gradually ceased. Those only who have watched night after night can form an idea of how much a temporary calm is appreciated. But yet it is difficult to reconcile one's self to the change. On the present occasion the whistling of the bullets—the rattling of the boards—the speedy movement—the sound from a cluster of voices,—the want of all this seemed to create a vacancy in the state of affairs quite unintelligible! The reply of "All right, Sir!" to the Officers on duty passing along their beat, could not disturb well-earned repose. But in the morning, yelling from the Burmese—the firing of cannister from our howitzers —and clearing the platform for action, soon destroyed the peaceful delusion. The Burmese having made a determined attempt to force their way into the Peguese stockade, came to a hand-to-hand contest with the allies, who received some severe wounds from spears and matchlocks; and it was not until they tasted the cold steel from some of our Rifle Sepoys that they drew off.* Another night had closed upon us, when again the welcome sound of a British gun was heard down the river. The Artillery Officer reported his hearing guns; he had also observed a rocket fired perpendicularly. Wellington's remark at Water-

* The loss of the Burmese must have been very great, as they had not before ventured to cross a piece of clear ground. One man of immense stature was found dead, supposed to be a Chief. The Peguese hung him up to a tree in triumph, but his body was cut down at sunset, and thrown into a dry well.

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loo, "There goes old Blucher at last!" could scarcely have been uttered with more heartfelt pleasure than "There's the force at last!" by the garrison of Pegu.

At 11 o'clock on the morning of the 14th, the first firing of General Godwin's relieving force was heard. As the troops were seen nearing the Pagoda, cheering became general throughout the garrison, and continued until Lieutenant Elliott, who commanded the advanced guard, entered the small aperture—made as an embrasure for one of our small guns—on the eastern entrance of the Pagoda.

On the 4th of January, although no troops had been observed moving about, a sudden discharge of musketry issued from the opening of the jungle which had been cut down. A 12-pounder howitzer, loaded with cannister, was ready pointed in the direction, to the north, where it was supposed the enemy might appear, and it was discharged with the happiest effect. Firing now commenced, and at sunset the picquet was increased to 100 Europeans and 50 Sepoys. By that time several men had been wounded.

On the 5th, 6th, and 7th, the working parties were increased, and uprights were fixed in the ground, about 10 feet from each other, and planks were nailed upon them, as being the most expeditious way of keeping the men out of sight of the enemy. Their attacks were now directed against the north face; and notwithstanding our men had been for some time worried and fired on—in spite of shot

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flying about—the Europeans were quite observable outside, coolly nailing on the planks, while others sat on the top of the beams assisting in the work, under a heavy fire all day. The Burmese must have set them down as at least possessing a charmed life; but it was nothing more than British courage and working with a hearty good-will—qualities which have for nearly a century distinguished the Madras Fusiliers. The picquet was obliged to act as a covering party to keep down the fire, otherwise we might have lost many men. The enemy had now taken up a position on the opposite bank of the river with the number of their force increased, and where an irregular brick building was turned into a battery by them. It has not been recorded that on the departure of General Godwin a stockade had been erected, according to his orders, at the landing-place on the bank of the river. The enemy's battery was about 120 yards from this stockade, and was a great annoyance to it. The gun-boats, under Captain Tarleton, R. N., having been withdrawn, we could not cross the river to dislodge the enemy from the strong position they had taken up, who finding that we had no boats, at length rendered the stockade, from its unfinished condition, almost untenable. Up to the 7th, one Captain was mortally wounded (Captain Nicolay of the Fusiliers), one artilleryman was killed, and 13 men were wounded. On the morning of the 8th—for some strange reason difficult to understand, and

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which has been already alluded to—the enemy were seen from the heights of the Pagoda marching in two confused columns, in full retreat. They went northward, and never again appeared to oppose us. And thus ended the protracted transactions at Pegu!

In consequence of the "very gallant and distinguished conduct" of Major Hill throughout these stirring events, the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council bestowed upon him a special mark of favour. Previous to this the thanks of the Supreme Government of India were sent him by General Godwin, as well as to the Garrison under his orders, for the gallant defence of Pegu:—

Fort-William, 4th January 1853.

. . . . . .

4th. The Governor-General in Council requests that you will convey to Major Hill of the Madras Fusiliers, and to the Officers and men under his command, the marked acknowledgments of the Government of India, for the bravery and steadiness with which they met and repulsed the continuous and harassing attacks of a large body of the enemy for many days, before reinforcements arrived at Pegu.

On the 3d of August our gallant Chief left Rangoon for Calcutta. At a dinner given him the night before his departure the enthusiasm was tremendous.

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A correspondent writes us that he made an excellent speech, in which he remarked that whatever the newspapers and the public chose to say regarding him, he had only done—what every soldier in Burmah had done—HIS DUTY; and neither more nor less! He had always acted up to his orders, and under instructions; and it was not his fault if these did not please the public.

Throughout his service in Burmah the writer has never had a word of conversation with General Godwin, nor was he ever—from the nature of his duties—able to wait upon him even as a matter of courtesy. This is simply remarked in refutation of the assertion made by some that the Author was prejudiced in favour of the General—but which prejudice amounted to nothing more than not passing severe judgment on men in high places before the conduct of affairs was fully explained.

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CONTINUATION OF THE NARRATIVE

TO THE

MONTH OF FEBRUARY 1854.

PART I.

WITH the Government Notification, dated the 30th of June 1853, which is given at page 354, the duty of a narrative-writer of the Second Burmese War may be said to terminate. As greater delay however than was anticipated has occurred in the production of this concluding volume, the writer trusts that—notwithstanding the darkened state of the political horizon in Europe, and the absorbing interest attached to the dispute between the Sultan and the Czar—a succinct continuation of the Narrative of Affairs in the Pegu Province until a considerably later period, will not be looked upon as wholly uninteresting. When we last wrote there was some difficulty in banishing the idea that the "snake" was but "scotched, not killed." Since then—as was to be expected after such a conquest

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—a few skirmishes have taken place, and lives have been lost on both sides. But these petty conflicts, brought on by a comparatively small number of desperate, dissatisfied characters in the Province, may be regarded simply as "the candle's flare before its final close."

As far as the Province of Pegu is concerned, after one year's experience on the frontier we pronounce, without hesitation, all that has been done to have been highly successful. The most sanguine Governor-General could not have expected more. There has been famine, and it has vanished. The intrigues of the war party we believe are growing weaker and weaker. Dacoity even is beginning to fly before British perseverance and valour. Captain Phayre's government has restored confidence to a long oppressed but once independent people. And we may hope ere the lapse of no great length of time to behold Pegu a plentiful and a happy land. The difficulties to be surmounted are great; but the instruments chosen will surmount them all, and teach even the peace-mongers—the wise of our generation—that their theory is rotten at the core; that if we would go on with the work of civilisation which Providence has assigned to us, there MUST be war; that soldiers and sailors MUST pioneer the way for the grand work of the Prince of Peace! Never, in the annals of Nations, was greater folly uttered and written than on the subject of the

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Second Burmese War. Let us be charitable and forget all individual assailants.

Looking into the sepulchre of that remarkable year 1853, we find that in the month of October a brilliant throng had assembled in the Music Hall at Edinburgh, to thunder forth against war as an unpardonable iniquity,—to "advocate arbitration in lieu of fighting among all the Nations in the World." The modern peace-makers—or rather, to reverse the title, the Sivas * of Peace—would overlook the force of circumstances in the government of Nations; and taking the complexion of the social system of the world from the narrow sphere of their own quiet, plausible, and enlightened selves, they would bring about the fulfilment of prophecy before the appointed time! They would wish the day of salvation to be immediately seized on by all Nations, without affording some of them the very means of gaining it; and regarding others, they suppose that the billows of human passion have for ever subsided,—that envy and hatred peacefully slumber,—that at length the Prince of Peace, assuming his mighty incarnation, and surrounded by millions of followers, has taken up his abode on earth! Who would not rejoice to see the grand exhortation:—"Be kindly affectioned one towards another!" universally followed? Had they let the Burmese war alone at the above meeting, we should probably not have been led in

* Siva, the destroyer of the Hindu Mythology.

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such strong terms to denounce the Peace Congress as founded on a selfish fallacy, turning politics into a comedy, as if there were another Touchstone for the chief player,—one "good at everything and yet a fool,"—continually exclaiming "your *If* is the only peace-maker; much virtue in *If!*" How long will the infatuation remain? When will the Peace Society learn—what many of the members really know already—that the abolition of war, "as human affairs are constituted," is an utter impossibility? Having thus, perhaps unwarrantably, gone out of our province to throw a shell into a harmless Society, we fall again into our place and progress with our very brief Narrative; and as we proceed, a faint hope may be entertained that what we write may have some effect in dispelling that prejudice against a war which, through misrepresentation, has not met with that popularity which its successful issue and masterly conduct by the Indian Government so eminently deserved.

After the cessation of war, in the strict sense, or what has been aptly styled the cessation of war "after the organized fashion," on the Governor-General's accepting the King's letter allowing the British to hold Pegu without regard to treaty, conjecture was at its height as to the future fate of the Province. We at Tonghoo were of course continually expecting a mighty change somewhere. The monsoon—in all its glory during July, August, and September, even had there been a chance of renewed

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warfare—prevented our going forth in any force to meet the Burmese in their jungle fastnesses. At Meeaday however it had been confidently reported that a fleet of steamers, war-boats, and gun-boats, would assemble immediately, it was thought for Ava purposes. This was before the King's intentions were finally known; so that in case of treachery the monsoon would be highly favourable to such an enterprise. But the Golden Foot was "not so bad as he seemed." There was still apparently some wisdom left with the humiliated descendant of Alompra. Why should he attack the Province when he knew he could not wrest it from us? Doubtless this thought passed through the Golden Brain of the Buddhist King. The Poonghees or Priests saw visions in their dreams of the decline and fall of the "spiritual pantheism." It had commenced in China, it would commence ere long in Burmah! The beginning of the end, regarding ecclesiastical affairs, in more countries than one, was nigh! We shall not endeavour to take any minute retrospect of affairs in Pegu during the latter portion of 1853, but shall merely record those of general interest. Although the scarcity of provisions had been sorely felt throughout the Province, the same want does not appear to have extended to Ava Proper, or say the country above Meeaday. Salt and salt-fish were in consequence of the blockade chiefly in demand in that quarter. Quantities of grain, on the blockade being raised, were brought down for exchange in

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boats. Arracan, the granary of Eastern Asia, had been largely called on to supply Europe, till at length arose there, as in Pegu, an undoubted scarcity, the demand for rice being in excess of the supply by many lakhs of maunds. The cheapness of rice in Pegu was doubtless attributable to the prudent measure of opening the river, and we believe in some degree to "the enterprise of the Calcutta speculators." A large quantity of rice was purchased by the Indian Government for Rangoon. Government had done its best for the new Province. Terrible vengeance was being taken against the dacoits, and very properly no mercy was shown to those scourges of the land. The little *Nerbudda* steamed up a creek, a principal rendezvous of the robbers, between Henzadah and Rangoon, and committed great slaughter.

In the course of our Narrative allusion has been made to the energetic doings of that able administrative Officer, Captain Fytche, of the Bassein District. We are now enabled to give a summary of his exploits, which may be considered partly as an amplification of, and supplement to, what has been already extracted on this subject from *The Friend of India*, at the close of Chapter XV, and may tend to convince our countrymen in Europe that the glory of the English character is shining in the East with as bright a lustre as ever. When the Deputy Commissioner came over from his old district of Sandoway, on the other side of the hills, he brought with

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him his war boats' crew of 60 men, and some 50 tried men besides. This force formed the nucleus of his little army. On his arrival at Bassein on the 18th January 1853, he found the garrison confined to their stockade, and the country in complete possession of the Burmese troops and surrounding bands. The garrison had most stringent orders not to allow a single man to go out of the stockade on any pretence whatever. Captain Fytche was therefore completely thrown upon his own resources. He saw that no good could result from sitting down quietly and doing nothing; so on the third day after his arrival he moved out, threw himself among the people of the country, and soon collected around him a number of the well-disposed, who, together with the gallant crews of the *Zenobia* and *Nemesis*, carried every thing before them. During the three months of the Deputy Commissioner's absence in the interior, he visited every portion of his District, and probably there were few individuals within it who had not seen his face. At one time he had upwards of 10,000 men in the field. The reader may consequently imagine what a task he had to keep them in anything like discipline. However, by the time the gallant force was broken up they all understood the most useful of the bugle calls, could skirmish very well, and march in line, file, and column. While on service there had been some sharp work occasionally; one day 28 men were shot down around their English Chief; the latter was hit in two

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places. The plunder of the Minku's camp, with that of the other Burmese Chief and marauders, was found to be very extensive. Captain Fytche sold it all off, and with the proceeds paid his men, carriage, and every thing else, without the cost of a single rupee to the State. With such a force, the blue-jackets, and 4 field pieces, we think that a successful march might have been made even on Ameerapoora —"the City of the Immortals"—itself!

Considering the character of the people and the difficulties which had to be encountered, we know of nothing more successful in Indian history than the organization and use of the Bassein temporary local corps, raised and brought into action under the sole superintendence of the Deputy Commissioner. The conduct of it was worthy of a soldier of the Empire which Clive had conquered, and Warren Hastings had consolidated!

Whilst the Deputy Commissioner was engaged in completing a survey for the site of a new city at the mouth of the Bassein river, an *emeute* occurred at the further extremity of his District, the leaders supposing that he had proceeded to Rangoon. Immediately however on the news reaching him he started for Bassein, from whence he set out to meet the enemy with 50 Sepoys, 30 Europeans, and about 400 Burmese allies, who had hitherto fought nobly under his command. The rebels, confident in their superior numbers, fought three successive engagements in the open plain, each of which was boldly

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and obstinately, but unsuccessfully contested; numbers of the foe, amongst whom were seven Chiefs, being killed, and five taken prisoners. So close was the struggle, and so determined was the enemy, that the gallant Deputy Commissioner himself was engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with one of the Chiefs, whom he cut down.

In the month of August the same functionary was on the frontier of his District, to the northward, where he received a message from Ghoung-gyee, a Burmese Chief, who had been the cause of some anxiety to another able political officer, Captain Smith, of the Sarawah district. The message was to the effect that he had always respected the Bassein frontier, and had never injured a single person in the Bassein territory in any way. This was perfectly true. A sense of fear had been established not only in Ghoung-gyee but amongst his accomplices also, and it did not seem probable that the Bassein Political would be disturbed with any of their pranks, which they might with greater facility carry on elsewhere. The notorious district of Sarawah—to use a not very pleasant but appropriate simile—acted like a poultice, and drew off all the evil matter from Bassein! At the beginning of October Captain Fytche had finished his assessment for the first half-year of 1853–4, and, exclusive of all Custom duties, there seemed every probability of getting in some five lakhs of rupees for the whole year. The people had settled down quietly to their

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cultivation, fisheries, and other employments, and a great number began to flock in from the neighbouring districts.

By an order of Government, dated Fort-William, 16th September, the Pegu force was to constitute one division under the command of Sir John Cheape, K.C.B. A brigade was to be stationed at or near Meeaday; and every precaution was being taken for the military defence of the new Province. At Tonghoo—in September and October—we were troubled with occasionally petty cases of dacoity inside and outside the fort walls. Towards the end of the latter month some of these robbers were caught and brought in to receive justice from the Assistant-Commissioner. The willingness of the Burmese to assist in the capture of these marauders augured well for the future security of the district. About the same time Mr Mason of the American Baptist Mission, and author of the *Fauna, Flora*, and *Minerals of Burmah*, visited Tonghoo. He purposed leaving for America shortly, when perhaps he would return and take up his abode at this station. He said that the Karens still expected another struggle for power among the great northern Chiefs of Ava. He thought well of the annexation of the country; and for some time, aided by his accomplished wife, he laboured zealously and successfully in his vocation in the vicinity. Even numbers of Karens came from a long distance to hear the simple Missionary speak to them as never man had

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spoken to them before! Will the Peace Society at their next great meeting put the question, to be answered by any one of its ablest members—Could Mr Mason have thus laboured had it not been for the "inevitable necessity" of war? Dealing with an arrogant and cruel people—for such the war party of Ava may be considered—how could the birth of civilisation have taken place in the land without the charge of the British bayonet, and the political, persuasive thunder of artillery?

Not the least important event at Tonghoo in October, was the arrival of some 12 9-pounder guns—the clumsy long iron nines, with metal sufficient for twelves at least—for the defence of the fort. Similar ordnance, in a smaller proportion, had been likewise conveyed to Sitang and Shoé-Gyne. Every precaution was taken on this side of the Sitang to have a sufficient artillery force; and we venture to say that the arrival of two additional 24-pounder howitzers and the heavy nines, did more to convince the people of this part of the country that we were determined to hold Pegu than a dozen manifestos to that effect by the political authorities. Thus may peace and safety be said to sleep under the stern shadow of brass and iron! Some of the prisoners (Europeans) who had been released by the Golden Foot, described the feelings and actions of the present King of Burmah as most friendly towards the British. To each of them on parting, it was said, he gave a small gold box, ring,

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or ruby—the latter forming the aristocratic present of Burmah. But yet the opinion of the press was—and not without reason—that the aspect of affairs was decidedly warlike, and that troubles would never cease until the Court of Ava was no more. We should have noted that during the latter part of the monsoon the *Indus* steamer attempted the passage from the Pegu river into the Sitang, but found the creek too narrow, and having come half-way had to return. During the rainy season Shoé-Gyne may be called a flooded town. Prome, according to Dr Mackay,* who has written a valuable paper on the "Topography of Burmah," likewise presents a watery scene at this period of the year. Inside the wall of that town the ground is raised, flat and dry; outside there is an old ditch, very wet and overgrown with weeds: "beyond this the ground is low, marshy, and the greater part of it during the months of August and September, when the river is at its greatest height, is covered with water. Towards the end of September the Irrawaddy begins to fall." Heights were cleared and occupied at Prome on the south and east side of the swamp, to improve the health of the troops, by removing them from the damp ground below. During the monsoon of 1853 the fall of rain at Tonghoo did not appear to us excessive, nor was there any inundation of the river. According to Dr Mackay, to the north of Meeaday the ground is comparatively high, and not

* Madras Sappers and Miners.

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subject to inundation, and the soil is more sandy than that at Promo.

The most momentous news of November was that on the 20th of December the *fighting Prince* was to leave Ava for a descent on our new conquest. Meanwhile the country was parcelled out into principalities, and one favoured Chief had received the order of the *Nine Golden Umbrellas!* Strange it is that so many Nations, civilised or otherwise, descend to the ridiculous in the appellations of their orders of merit. The above distinction conferred at Ava does not suffer to any great extent however beside such as the *Golden Fleece*, *the Lion and Sun*, or even with our own National orders—*the Garter* and *the Bath!* Our troops having been fully employed against the dacoits on the Irrawaddy, we are assured they would have rejoiced to have left that harassing and inglorious warfare to have met on the fair field the chosen men of Ava! But it is needless to say that this will never be brought about, for it is opposed to the general system of war in this country. Among the many conflicting accounts of the King and his intentions, not the least important was that of his Jesuit counsellor, M. Abona, who had declared that although the Golden Foot would not invade Pegu, he was nevertheless ready for a defensive war! This same Jesuit had been dispatched from Ava, it was said on a special mission, to request that the usual royal procession should be allowed to pass down from the northward to Rangoon, for the purpose of

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celebrating the praises of Gaudama at his greatest shrine. This application to the Commissioner of course met with the treatment it deserved. Under the circumstances, the appearance of such a procession might have injured "the prestige of our power in Pegu." Not long after this evident design of the Jesuit an event occurred which was calculated to create some alarm among the authorities, nothing less than a sort of conspiracy at Rangoon. The night of the 23d November was that on which some unusual exertions on the part of numerous dissatisfied Burmese—"discarded officials"—were to be made for gaining possession of the great Dagoon Pagoda, and turning the guns of the British fort upon the town. But all had been nipped in the bud by the vigilance of those in power, and the miserable attempt soon gained the oblivion it deserved.* There can be no better policy than to meet occasions like these, however trivial in themselves, with prompt energy, until in our new Province nearly all are satisfied!

We regret that we have now to record a dark shadow in the picture of our Narrative—nothing less than the murder of one who has figured in these pages on several occasions—than whom a braver soldier never stepped—Captain Thomas Latter! He was found dead in his bed on the morning of the 8th of December; and on examination, one fatal and two severe

* In this business the timely and active exertions of Captain Sparks, the Deputy Commissioner, were much praised.

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wounds were discovered. This assassination, we think correctly, was not attributable to political motives; that is to say, we do not believe it to have been instigated by the parties at Ava. It is impossible to narrate without a deep feeling of sorrow this untimely end of the Deputy Commissioner of Prome. Able as a linguist and as an administrator, distinguished as a soldier, he was not the man that could be easily spared from the government of such a Province as Pegu. For many years he had done good service in Eastern Asia; and in addition to his civil and political duties had mastered the Burmese and Talain languages, on which he published two or three volumes. Colonel Mackeson's fate fresh on our minds, Colonel Sleeman's life attempted, it did seem at first as if portentous clouds were gathering respectively over Peshawar, Oude, and Burmah! In the same month a force under Major Seaton,* Commandant of Shoé-Gyne, amounting to some six or eight hundred men, with guns, marched to capture if possible the Chief whose stronghold was between Pegu and Shoé-Gyne, but the crafty marauder prudently retreated to the hills.

On the 14th of December the Governor-General of India made his second visit to Rangoon. Since his former one death had indeed done its work among the principal actors in the Second Burmese

* Bengal Fusiliers, assisted by Captain Ward, Madras Fusiliers, and by Lieutenant Taylor, Madras Artillery.

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War. The Admiral, the General, a Deputy Commissioner, and numerous others, had passed away! But if Providence had thus ordered it, there was a satisfaction to be enjoyed by the head of the Indian Government in the knowledge of the fact that a fair Province had been rescued from tyranny and oppression, and that she had been set on the right track to gain happiness and prosperity. There was every prospect of a large harvest; the country seemed almost cleared of dacoits; commerce, especially at Rangoon, had commenced in earnest; and according to one authority the aggregate value of the exports and imports into Rangoon "of articles paying duty during November and December, amounted to about 11 lakhs of rupees," (L.110,000). Such was the dawn of prosperity on Lord Dalhousie's arrival at the capital of the new Province. And strange enough, while the chosen leader of the "merchants of Tarshish, with all the young lions thereof" was at Rangoon, determined to uphold the glory of the Anglo-Saxon race in Eastern Asia, the news reached India that Turkey had fairly commenced, aided by the Great Western Powers, to curb the ambition of Russia, and preserve its dominions from the grasp of the despotic and all-absorbing Czar!

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PART II.

OMER PACHA had crossed the Danube on a mission of war; Lord Dalhousie was now about to steam up the Irrawaddy on a mission of peace. Peter the Great, we know, extended the commercial relations of Russia on all sides, even to China. Great Britain had now taken up a strong position in the direction of the flowery land about the same time as the extermination of the Mantchou race seemed nigh. Thus does it appear for the present that the balance of power in the world must be kept up by the spirit of national and physical antagonism.

So long as we are prepared on all sides for war there need not be the slightest apprehension about the power and resources of Russia or of any other Nation. Such preparation in these days is absolutely necessary. The Indian army, according to modern seers, has a fair share of work marked out for it—to defend India—to drive the invader out of Egypt, and meet him face to face on the sacred soil of Palestine! The light of British civilisation is to usher in "the millennial day." Entertaining such bright hopes then, and impelled as we are by the force of

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circumstances to increase our territories as well as to protect those already gained, what need we care about the

"Eighth sharer of the inhabitable sphere,
Whom Persia bows to, China ill confines,
And India's homage waits when Albion's star declines."*

To form a consistent theory of general causes, it appears to us, is a human impossibility. Nevertheless the attempt may be left with master-minds like those of Montesquieu and Gibbon. Should there be any such among the Peace Society, have we not a right to expect a "Philosophic History of Mankind?" To look at the rise, grandeur, and fall of empires, it is well for ordinary men to be content with the general causes and effects themselves, without running into theories which are generally apt to mislead or bewilder. So we wrote seven years ago;† and as the world has been taking its own way since then, we return to the undeniable fact that, after war, the Governor-General is about to proceed peacefully to Prome! His Lordship left Rangoon for that station on the 17th of December; and during his residence there, as at the chief part of the Province, all his attention was given to the present and future welfare of Pegu. The three grand military reports which now became current were, that two horse batteries were to be furnished by Madras for Burmah —that the order for a medal granted by Her Most Gracious Majesty had been promulgated by the

* Campbell. † "Political Speculations."—*Orissa*, p. 245.

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Governor-General—and that Prome was no longer to be a Cantonment! By all accounts the climate at that station was particularly healthy at the close of 1853, forming a strong contrast with the commencement and the close of the previous year. On the 26th of December Lord Dalhousie proceeded to Meeaday. On the same day a party of 700 men, with two howitzers from the C Troop, Madras Horse Artillery,* marched for Pounyday, about 38 miles in a S. E. direction from Prome; there they were to be met by Captain Smith, the Deputy Commissioner, and a portion of the Arracan battalion, when a razzia was to be made against the dacoit Chief, Moung-Ghoung-gyee. He, and the other dacoit Chiefs who had recently been giving us trouble, were probably acting under the orders of the younger brother of the King of Ava—described as "an ambitious fool," —while the King shewed his wisdom in desiring to preserve peace and promote commercial intercourse. Nevertheless from such opposite elements it is evident that caution and strong measures are requisite in dealing with such a Court. And this appeared to be well understood by the authorities. The difficulty was one of a distressing kind; for these firebrands the dacoits did not direct their attacks against the British, but against the unfortunate peasants who had come under our protection, whom they hoped to drive by force into the Burmese territory.

* Under Lieutenant Jefferis, accompanied by Second Lieutenant Peach.

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The most vigorous measures had therefore been adopted and enforced.

While at Meeaday the Governor-General resolved to be a principal actor in the settlement of the boundary of the new Province. Proceeding six miles northward, a point was taken; three steamers thundered forth each a salute of 21 guns. A pillar of demarcation now became the chief object of attention, and to it the troops presented arms. The Governor-General made a short but pithy speech, and we believe concluded with the decisive announcement that the pillar was to be a mark of the British possessions for ever and ever! Three hearty British cheers were given, and all marched back to Meeaday!* At present there is no military post north of that station, and the line west of the boundary extends to the Arracan range, where it joins our own territory. Before departure his Lordship presented the old head-man of Meeaday with an appropriate gift for laudable conduct; and we may safely predict that when that gold chain encircles the neck of the Burman of a future generation, British rule will be thought of with a respect infinitely surpassing that ever bestowed on the government, or rather misgovernment of all the descendants of Alompra!

The Governor-General arrived at Rangoon from Prome on the 5th of January, and left for Bassein on the 9th, whence he proceeded to Calcutta.

* Theyetmew—formerly a nest for dacoits—was held by a small force from Meeaday. It is situated about six miles south.

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We should have mentioned the anxiety expressed by Lord Dalhousie during his visit to Pegu for the comfort of the British soldier; and with him there was no standing upon the order of doing, but the thing proposed to be done was done at once. Probably his last Official Despatch in Pegu was that dated on board the *Zenobia*, the 13th of January, off Cape Negrais. The ardent lovers of peace will be curious to know what was the subject. It was simply on the best means of establishing Cantonment Gardens in Pegu, which would supply the European soldiery with vegetables, and afford a pleasant and tasteful place of recreation for all classes of society at the station. Is not this literally beating swords into plough-shares? A Province larger than Belgium is conquered—its inhabitants rescued from tyranny and oppression—and the master mind who has guided the conquest leaves it a garden! The circumstance reminds us of Warren Hastings's letter to Dr Johnson shortly after the death of Nuncomar, when the conqueror in the deadly grapple sat down "with characteristic self-possession to write about the Tour to the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, tradition, arts, and natural productions of India."*

And truly, considering the aspect of affairs in Europe and Persia, to say nothing of Affghanistan or elsewhere, one may imagine—for the Indian statesman at least—the period to be equally critical

* Macaulay.

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with that of troubled and distracted Bengal in the last century, when the magical wisdom and decision of Warren Hastings taught us how to consolidate an Empire!

We resume our Narrative by recording some of the remarks of Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K. C. B., on the approaching departure of H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. I. for England, dated Prome, 20th December 1853; and we doubt not that this gallant corps will long remember what it has suffered and achieved here. "The annals of the regiment may tell of fields of greater note, but of none in which the sterling worth of the regiment has been more fully tried and shewn than in its service in Burmah. On many occasions the greatest gallantry has been displayed, and in particular by a detachment under the command of Captain Irby, in storming the enemy's position in almost the last action fought in this war." The writer of these pages was with them at the first—and he is happy in being able to record the blaze of glory which shone so brilliantly to the last! H. M.'s 18th and 80th Regiments had proceeded on their way to Calcutta and England, after much distinguished service in this country. Our highly respected chaplain, Mr Burney, had left the latter corps at Shway-Doung, near Prome. Eventually the Officers and men of that regiment presented him with a substantial mark of their esteem, and appreciation of the efficient manner in which he had discharged his arduous duties amidst all the

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horrors incident to a protracted war,—and few men have ever deserved it better than the Rev. H. B. Burney.

We now return to Tonghoo, and no small degree of excitement was caused in that quiet station when, on the morning of the 21st of January 1854, Major Allan, Deputy Quartermaster-General, arrived from Prome with the powers of a Special Commissioner, accompanied by a detachment of Sikhs under Lieutenant Williams. Not having taken the direct route they were 16 days in accomplishing the march—a distance of 140 miles.* This was not bad work, considering that the road—if a wild path can be so called—had in some degree to be reconnoitred and measured. A small party of Madras Sappers accompanied the detachment. The road on the whole was passable, and the Sappers, as they went along, vastly improved it. Water was plentiful, and there was no appearance of an enemy, but the Karenee villagers informed the small force that numerous decoits hovered around them. During the march Major Cotton was understood to be out against the redoubtable Ghoung-gyee. The last we heard of this notorious Chief was, that he laboured under a wretched state of health, and should he escape the casualty of war he was likely to succumb to the stroke of disease. Our old enemy Myat-Toon was at Ava, of course prompting the younger brother

* A direct route would probably give a distance under 100 miles.

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of the Golden Foot to turn us out of the country. He was held to be in disgrace by the King, or elder brother! But the dacoits, or in reality the dissatisfied portion of the dispersed Burmese army, were not yet utterly annihilated. The detachment which had just arrived brought the intelligence that Captain Barry, commanding the Arracan Local Battalion, had been slain near Prome in an encounter with these desperate sons of Burmah. The British detachment consisted of a Company of the 10th B. N. I., and a number of Mugs (Arracanese), under Captain Barry. Coming to a jungly road the dacoits allowed the 10th to pass, as far as we could learn, without molestation. This was contrary to their usual custom. The Mugs, however, were met by a vigorous fire. Captain Barry immediately opened out his men into skirmishing order, but unfortunately the gallant Officer was at that time mortally wounded. Lieutenant Thompson was also hit, and some 25 men on this disastrous occasion were numbered among the killed and wounded.

Now may be said to have commenced the flare of the lamp of dissatisfaction, before its final close, which we trust will not shew its light farther than in the few incidents which now remain to be recorded. If it does to any great extent Ava must fall, and the dynasty of Alompra must be exterminated. This has been threatened by Lord Dalhousie to secure good behaviour; and as yet

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the threat appears to be acting as a strong check on the Court of Ava. We can see at present no cause of alarm. In this some of the most able English Journals are too prone to indulge. The extension of "the garden" to Ava, or beyond, would be an enterprize of little difficulty. It would not be profitable, it is true; but in the grand human march of civilisation the instruments cannot always expect to carry profit along with them. Pegu is as much as we want, and it is evidently the intention of the Indian Government not to go beyond, if the step can possibly be avoided. After all, we are not quite sure that, were it possible to open a brisk trade with the adjacent portion of China and the northern Shan States, we would find an extension of the territory utterly unprofitable.

In consequence of the arrival of Major Allan, and his intention to proceed northward and fix the boundary, a force was immediately held in readiness to accompany him. This consisted of one Company of Madras European Fusiliers under Captain Geils, with Lieutenant Grant; a detachment of the 5th M.N.I.; another of Madras Sappers and Miners; and a few Ramghur Irregular Horse. The Sikhs remained behind at Tonghoo. The garrison could ill afford to spare even so small a force as that now about to proceed under the command of Captain Geils. For some time past we had heard of various preparations being made to oppose our progress northward; the

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Burmese were said to be in great force at Yamuthayn, or Ramuthayn;* about half-way thither is Nangain—nearly 80 miles from Tonghoo—both on the direct road to Ava. The capital is some 80 or 90 miles almost due north from Yamuthayn. Mr O'Riley, the Assistant Commissioner, had hitherto confined his tours in the district chiefly to the south and west, but had eventually proceeded some distance to the northward, when it was found necessary to remove several obstacles evidently placed in our way. This indefatigable Officer of course accompanied Major Allan. On the morning of the 24th of January the small force marched out of Tonghoo. The first intelligence of it was received on the morning of the 26th; there had been a skirmish at Kaleen, 17 miles distant, in which two Europeans, a Ramghur Irregular, and two Natives were wounded. It was now quite natural to suppose that we should have to fight every inch of our way to the boundary, which was to be in a straight line with the point chosen six miles north of Meeaday. Immediately on receipt of the news from Kaleen the Brigadier dispatched Dr Beautfleur and 20 Sikhs, with a few Europeans, to aid the small force in case of more opposition. On the same day of excitement two howitzers were also ordered to be kept in readiness to proceed northward at a moment's notice. Had a Third Burmese War really commenced? Could the Bur-

* See Sketch Map at commencement of *Narrative of the Operations at Rangoon in* 1852. Nangain is there inadvertently omitted.

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mese be such arrant fools? With a direct land movement on Ava in our power on one side, and with a water movement by means of the light craft on the Irrawaddy on the other, were they not aware that we could circumvent the Empire in spite of every difficulty, if they provoked us to do so? We believe that this was perfectly well understood beyond Nangain—from which place, it was fully believed, men had been detached to oppose our progress to the northward.

On the morning of the 28th intelligence arrived of another skirmish on coming into Tewāh, nine miles beyond Kaleen. On this occasion the enemy were in some force in the jungles, and Lieutenant Grant of the Fusiliers received a wound in the arm. Some two or three natives, including a Burmese guide, were also shot down. Lieutenant P. A. Brown was now ordered out to supply the place of Lieutenant Grant. He started with three Fusiliers, and eventually reached the camp in perfect safety. On the termination of this last affair Major Allan received a communication from the Goung of Nangain, asking what right he had to come northward. He replied that he had come merely to mark the boundary line; that he would proceed to the point required; and he cautioned the Goung therefore against any further opposition. The 29th passed away without any fresh news from the camp, when Brigadier Williams, naturally anxious about the small force, wisely resolved—should no letter pre-

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viously arrive from Major Allan—to send out on the morrow a strong detachment with two howitzers, to reinforce or furnish a garrison, as might be required, for any position chosen.

As "tight" a little force as ever went forth ardent for martial adventure, left Tonghoo accordingly, at three P. M. on the 30th instant, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Poole, 5th M.N.I., and consisted of a strong detachment of Sikhs under Lieutenant Williams; one of Madras Fusiliers under Lieutenant Seton; one of Madras Sappers under Lieutenant Shortland; and a detachment of Madras Artillery (European), with two 24-pounder howitzers and a rocket tube.

It was quite dark when we arrived at Yagay, a distance of eight or nine miles, where we remained all night—some on this occasion sleeping under a tree, others under a bullock-garie; but the majority had their faces sheltered only by the heavens, and fortunately none suffered from the dew, although another night of such repose would have shown many on the sick report. The order was to travel as lightly as possible, so where there were no houses no other alternative presented itself than that of sleeping in the open air. This a soldier often rather likes than otherwise, but it is a dangerous experiment in Burmah!

Before starting for Kaleen,* on the morning of the 31st, a messenger arrived from Major Allan

* Near Kaleen there is a remarkable bridge, about 1,400 yards long.

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with a packet for the Brigadier commanding Tonghoo. Colonel Poole having opened what seemed the principal communication, found it to be dated from Myo-khla, about 42 miles in a northerly direction from Tonghoo. Captain Geils's force had met with strong opposition while proceeding to Myo-khla. Breastworks, scarps after the Burmese fashion, and every variety of rude fortification had been brought into play to oppose our progress. We regretted to learn that the gallant Captain had been severely wounded while leading on his men, who, with the Sikhs, dashed fearlessly into the jungle, doing great execution among the astonished enemy. At the assault on Nāt-toon, or the Spirit Hill—a spacious eminence about four miles from Myo-khla—the affair became a serious one. The Burmese had to be repelled at the point of the bayonet. In addition to Captain Geils, six or eight Fusiliers and two or three Natives, including a Sikh, were wounded. The 5th M. N. I. and the Madras Sappers, highly distinguished themselves by the efficient performance of the various duties entrusted to them. Lieutenant P. A. Brown succeeded Captain Geils in the command of the force at Myo-khla. We afterwards learned that this Officer accompanied Major Allan to the boundary point immediately opposite Mahaw, about six miles beyond Myo-khla, having crossed and recrossed the Sitang river, which here wends its way northward, broad and deep, with some fine hills in the distance. There was opposi-

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tion to the last; but the object had been achieved, and the boundary line had been marked 48 miles from Tonghoo, as near as possible in a line with six miles north of Meeaday! The Government had not given any final orders regarding the extreme point of boundary to the east. Before this can be done the country must be surveyed, or at least reconnoitred. Such progress will lead us among the tribes of Karens, of whose productions, manners, and customs, we have little information; the splendid hills running north and south beyond the Sitang river, at a distance of eight or ten miles from Tonghoo,* are likewise peopled by some of these tribes, and in a few years more we may expect to find Red Karens wheeling with right goodwill into the ranks of civilisation! Before then numerous roads will have been made, drains will have been cut, jungle will have been cleared away, and we shall see new cantonments peopled and garrisoned, all through the energy of the ubiquitous Anglo-Saxon race! We understand that the Governor-General has determined to have the road between Chittagong and Prome completed before the next monsoon.

In the month of February Lieutenant Ward, I.N., arrived at Tonghoo, having surveyed the Sitang river to this station, for the purpose of furnishing us with

* Latitude 18° 56′; longitude had not been taken. According to Dr Mackay, latitude of Prome is 18¾°, and the longitude 95¼°.

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that most useful achievement of modern civilisation, —a steamer! Major Allan, had there been boats, would probably have returned from Myo-khla by water, or he might have sent back the sick and wounded by the river. By the letter which had arrived in camp at Yagay, the Special Commissioner was about to proceed to the boundary above alluded to. He believed that the force under Captain Geils had driven the enemy to the northward, and did not dream of the strong detachment now proceeding to join him. He had not yet secured a post where he could leave troops; but it would be necessary to have one if that part of the country was to be held.

On the 2d of February Colonel Poole's field-force arrived at Myo-khla, not a vestige of an enemy having been seen all the way. The road was better than we expected; but hilly and swampy in several places, and consequently difficult for guns. In the swampy ground we put the elephants in shaft; there they were of great service; but they would be liable to overturn a gun in the Burmese jungle. Few pictures of the combination of animal and scientific power can equal that of an elephant moving along with a large howitzer! The bullocks, although they worked well, were found as usual to be inefficient for artillery service on the line of march, and in consequence the two Madras horse-batteries about to be formed in Pegu will, for speedy movement, be invaluable.

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Not finding Major Allan at Myo-khla, Colonel Poole took immediate steps for the discovery of the adventurous detachment. But all doubt was at an end on the morning of the following day, intelligence having arrived from Lieutenant Maud, 5th M. N. I.—who was only one march distant (at Thāgarah,) with 30 Sikhs and four days' provisions for our force—that the detachment escorting the Commissioner was returning to Tonghoo; he likewise sent instructions from that authority that we were also to return. The same day Lieutenant Maud arrived in camp with loaded elephants, and the hearty brave-looking Sikhs. Had Moung-Bhwa, with his 5,000 men paid us a visit at this time, we think our gallant Colonel would have given him an admirable specimen of our prowess, although the proportion of fighting men would have been greatly in favour of the Burmese, or about twenty to one! but it was evident they feared us,—in every part of the world the best security for peace,—so we marched back to Tonghoo in a manner worthy of the most peaceful members of the immaculate Peace Society, for we did not fire a shot!

We arrived on the morning of the 7th February, and found that no definite orders were yet to be given about the post near the frontier. On the 10th Major Allan, with the Sikhs and a rocket tube,* left

* With a small party of the D Company, 3d Battalion Artillery, under Corporal Taylor. The writer was now, and had been for a considerable time, in sole command of the Artillery at Tonghoo.

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for Prome. On the same day a detachment of European Fusiliers and Native Infantry, with two howitzers and a portion of the D Company, 3d Battalion, the whole under the command of Captain Tulloch of the former corps, left for Yagay, to protect the surrounding country. Through the exertions of Lieutenant Moberly of the Madras Engineers a temporary military post was soon formed at Yagay. The last incident we shall record is the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Apthorp at Tonghoo on the 21st, to command the 1st Madras Fusiliers, Major Hill having been appointed—a high compliment to the Madras Army—to that of the Gwalior Contingent!

Thus ends our eventful Narrative. Should any one be dissatisfied, perhaps they will give us the credit of at least having done our best to render the History as full and complete as could well be accomplished under the very harassing circumstances in which we were often placed during the Campaign. And if the Indian Government be eventually called on to fulfil the destiny which so often impels us forward "in spite of our own wishes," the future historian may in this Work find a few materials to assist him in an account of THE THIRD BURMESE WAR.

TONGHOO, 22*d February* 1854.

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SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS AND NOTES.

GENERAL GODWIN'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE ARMY OF BURMAH. *

THE Major-General is about to resign the command of the army,—an army that for one year and four months has not given the Major-General one hour of trouble or anxiety. Whether in the field or in quarters its admirable conduct has held an even course. It is a singular fact that with troops of three distinct Services, of which this Force has been composed, not one collision of interests has come to the knowledge of the Major-General—all has been harmony; and the good of the service on which the Force has been employed has been the prevailing and first consideration of the combined whole.

Such creditable bearing must increase the painful feelings of the Major-General to know he is leaving so excellent a Force, which he has never been absent from one day—sharing as he has done in its triumphs in the field and living with it in its quarters,—so that he does

* Dated Prome, 27th July 1853.

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not consider the subject he is now addressing to them so much in the light of a Farewell Address as a testimony of the warmest feelings towards his brother soldiers. [The General, after acknowledging the services of the Staff, individually and collectively, proceeds.] The Major-General begs to offer his warmest thanks to Brigadier-General Sir J. Cheape, K. C. B., and to Brigadier-General S. W. Steel, C. B.; to the Brigadiers of the several Brigades, and to the Officers commanding Regiments, for their constant, valuable, and cheerful support, by which alone he has been able to sustain the honourable trust reposed in him by Government. [In the Address very flattering mention is made of Majors Mayhew, Allen, Boulderson, Budd, and Fraser,*—a galaxy of energy and talent that would do honour to any army. The "brave and ever ready Sappers" are likewise highly commended. Liberal thanks are also bestowed on Brigadier Foord and the Artillery of both Presidencies; on Superintending Surgeon Montgomerie, and the Medical Officers of Regiments; and on our excellent Chaplains the Reverend H. B. Burney and the Reverend J. W. Bull. The General evidently does his best to wish a kind farewell to all.]

* The indefatigable Bengal Engineer, at whose bidding towns rose as if by magic, where all before was desolation and ruin.

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MORTALITY AMONG THE TROOPS IN BURMAH DURING THE WAR.

FREQUENT allusion has been made in the Narrative to the health of the troops employed in the operations. This being a subject of vast importance, especially as concerning the probability of our being in time to come urged on to farther conquest in Eastern Asia, the writer, with a view of rendering his Work as useful as possible for a reference now and hereafter, begs to submit the following matter to his readers. At page 15 of the *Narrative of Operations at Rangoon in* 1852, it is stated from an Official Return that in the First Burmese War, "during the first year 3½ per cent of the troops were killed in action, while 45 per cent perished from disease. In the ensuing year the mortality decreased one-half; but the total loss during the war amounted to 72½ per cent of the troops engaged." We were surprised to see a statement in June purporting to be from the Annual Returns, that in the Second Burmese War, "during the past year, 54 European Officers, 1,353 European soldiers, and probably above 2,000 Sepoys have *perished* in Burmah;" including all who have from time to time gone away on medical certificate, the facilities for which have been very great during the recent Campaigns. These figures may be correct, but in our opinion they can scarcely be so. With an army more than double the size of ours in the First War, which lasted nearly two years, the grand total

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of European Officers killed and deceased amounted to 65; native commissioned, non-commissioned rank and file, 1,429; non-commissioned rank and file Europeans, 3,134; and extra killed, deceased, and missing, 450. As has been observed elsewhere, the privations and sufferings of the troops during the First War were infinitely greater than what have been endured by us. Mortality throughout the recent Campaigns has been extremely variable in its character; the Angel of Death continually shifting his quarters, and often abiding in those places where he was least expected. On one or two occasions—as will have been seen in the course of the Narrative—he made a steady residence at Prome. Since recording the deaths of Lieutenants Pilmer and Montgomery of H. M.'s 51st and 80th Regiments, we have now to add to the list the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Coote, H. M.'s 18th R. I., and Lieutenant Chisholm, 40th B.N.I. The former gallant Officer, it will be remembered, commanded the storming party at the attack on the Great Shoé-Dagoon Pagoda. The Queen's Regiments have certainly shared considerably in the mortality of the war. The Company's Regiments have been more fortunate. Of the former we have no exact statistics; but a tolerably accurate idea will have been gained from what is written in the foregoing Chapters. The Madras troops, on the whole, may be said to have suffered less than the Bengal. By the end of May last, out of 160 European Bengal Artillerymen who came to Burmah at the commencement of the war, upwards of 40 had died. Out of say 230 European Madras Artillerymen, up to the same time, not more than the above number had died. The Bengal European Fusiliers* have been more severely

* Captain Byng died *en route* from Tonghoo to Shoé-Gyne.

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visited than the Madras. From the convenience of a frequent communication between Rangoon and Calcutta, the Bengal Sepoys have been enabled when sick and unfit for duty to visit their country in considerable numbers, notwithstanding this advantage we are not sure if their bill of mortality is less than the Madras. In the 5th M.N.I., which came to Rangoon from Kyouk Phyoo, in Arracan, —a climate not particularly healthy—from June 1852 to June 1853 the deaths have been 88 men. From June to August, at Tonghoo, they have lost 25—total 113. Considering—as has been well remarked—that "all Eastern countries are at first unfavourable to the health of Europeans;"* and it may be added, to that of Native Sepoys also, there is nothing very alarming in the aspect of the mortality among the troops in Burmah. Before drawing attention to some interesting Tables kindly furnished us by the Officer commanding the 1st Madras European Regiment of Fusiliers, it may be remarked that the first is to shew the few casualties in the Fusiliers since the day of landing at Rangoon till the end of August 1853, as compared with other European regiments in Burmah. The second Table is to shew the salubrity of Tonghoo from the few casualties in that corps—six in five months. The third Table will interest those who make investigations into probable causes in producing certain effects, as it shews the quantity of arrack drank by 431 men in five months at Tongheo.

It was the opinion of Dr Robertson of H. M's. 13th Regiment—reputed as one of the best informed practitioners for Indian maladies—that during the siege of Jellalabad he had no sickness, and attributed it entirely to the

* On the 22d of April the Service lost a very fine young Officer, Lieutenant Harris, 19th M.N.I., of the Sappers, who died at Sitang.

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impossibility of obtaining liquor. From this, by casting the eye over the Table now presented, perhaps an inference may be drawn from the few casualties at Tonghoo,—amounting only to five men, (one of whom, the Quarter-master-Sergeant, died from apoplexy the day after arrival) —that as the liquor drank for five months at this station does not give on an average above half a dram to each man, the predisposition to infectious diseases, which always renders them more fatal where strong drinks are indulged in, has not been seen here. The Government allowance of liquor—two drams a-day when porter is not issued—is ample for the men; and it would appear to be necessary to health in such a climate as Burmah. Often have we heard the highly respectable Sergeant say—"I could not get on Sir without my dram!" In the heavy monsoon the sentry is relieved from his duty in the morning; he is wet, cold, and aching—a dram to him then is worth an ocean of physic. The sobriety of the men of the Fusiliers—there is much to like in that word *sobriety*, it implies SELF-DENIAL, whereas *Total Abstinence* has no human grandeur about it. The sobriety of the Madras Fusiliers we say, at Tonghoo, has been the leading cause of so few casualties having occurred among them; and the same may be said of the Company of Madras European Artillery under the charge of the writer of this Narrative. As regards the soldier-like appearance and general behaviour of the Company's European troops, they will not suffer by comparison with the best European troops in the world, in spite of some miserable calumnies, founded as usual on ignorance, brought at home against them.

Since writing the above, a most interesting document has appeared, professing to be a List of Officers who

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have either been killed, died, or wounded, or who have been compelled to leave Burmah since the commencement of the war, up to the 12th of June 1853: Thus,—

	Killed and Dead.	Wounded.	S. C.*
Royal Navy, ...	10	9	7
Indian Navy and Bengal Marine,	4	6	23
H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish, ...	4	5	1
H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. I., ...	8	4	9
H. M.'s 80th Regiment, ...	5	3	3
Staff, ...	4	2	8
Madras Artillery,...	4	1	7
Bengal Artillery,..	...	2	...
Bengal Engineers, ...	1	2	2
Madras Engineers, ...	3	2	6
Bengal Fusiliers, ...	2	...	1
Irregular Cavalry, ...	...	...	1
5th Madras Native Infantry, ...	...	2	2
9th Madras Native Infantry, ...	1	2	3
19th Madras Native Infantry, ...	...	...	1
1st Madras Native Infantry, ...	...	1	1
35th Madras Native Infantry, ...	4	1	11
4th Sikhs, ...	...	2	...
40th Bengal Native Infantry, ...	5	...	1
67th Bengal Native Infantry, ...	3	1	1
49th Madras Native Infantry, ...	...	...	1
	58	45	89

The Madras Fusiliers, of which corps a perfect statement is given in the subjoined Table, contains in this list 4 s. c. This is a rather more numerous bill of mortality than we at first supposed, although the list is drawn out to the utmost statistical length, some being set down who did not die in Burmah. It will be seen from the above that the two most unfortunate regiments in point of Officers, have been the 51st K. O. L. I. and the 35th M. N. I.

* On Sick Certificate.

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I.—Madras Fusiliers.

	Lieut.-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.	Surgeons.	Asst.-Surgeons.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Corporals.	Privates.
Strength of Regiment on landing at Rangoon, 13th September 1852,	1	1	9	15	10	1	3	48	20	47	845
Casualties by death up to 25th August 1853,	..	..	3	..	2	..	..	4	..	5	57

II.—Martaban Column.

	Lieut.-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.	Surgeons.	Asst.-Surgeons.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Corporals.	Privates.
Detachment under Captain Geils, arrived at Tonghoo, 22d February 1853, ...	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	5	2	5	136
Detachment under Captain Renaud, arrived at Tonghoo, 6th March 1853, ...	..	..	1	3	3	..	..	5	4	13	158
Head-Quarters under Major Hill, arrived at Tonghoo 24th April 1853, ...	..	1	..	4	2	1	..	11	5	1	56
Brigadier Williams's Escort arrived 12th March 1853, ...	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	28
Total, . .	..	1	2	9	6	1	..	22	11	20	378
Casualties by death at Head-Quarters, up to 25th August 1853, .	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	4
Total, . .	..	1	2	9	5	1	..	21	11	20	374

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III.—QUANTITY of ARRACK issued at HEAD-QUARTERS during the Months specified below.

Months.	ARRACK.		Strength.	Average Consumption.
	Gallons.	Drams.		
April, 1853.	410	21	431	Nearly 1¼th drams per man daily.
May, ,,	237	11	430	,, 7-10ths ,, ,, ,,
June, ,,	224	27	429	Less than 7-10ths ,, ,, ,,
July, ,,	264	..	428	Nearly 4-5ths ,, ,, ,,
Aug. 25, ,,	201	24	427	,, 3-4ths ,, ,, ,,
Total, .	1338	3	2145	General average, 5-6ths dram p. man daily.

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THE CAMPAIGN IN BURMAH, 1853.

At Tonghoo, towards the end of September, a new Indian Periodical* fell into our hands, evidently most ably conducted, and to which we wish every success. The July number contained a paper with the above title, from which a few useful notes may be culled, supplementary to what has already appeared in the Narrative.

In the beginning of January 1853, the British force in Burmah under the command of General Godwin gave a body composed of—

1 Troop of Horse Artillery.
1 Light Field Battery.
5 Companies of Foot Artillery.
4 Companies of Sappers.
2 Troops of Cavalry.
5 Regiments of British Infantry.
8 Regiments of Native Infantry.

The above might, on the 1st of January 1853, be fairly reckoned as 10,000 men of all arms, who were scattered over the face of Pegu, from Prome to the sea.

During the Autumn of 1852 the want of carriage being much felt by the army, and it being necessary to provide

* *East India Army Magazine and Military Review.*

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against the necessity of an advance by land upon the capital, the Governor-General decided on dispatching 200 elephants by way of Assam and the borders of Arracan, which, entering the valley of the Irrawaddy through the Tonghoo Pass, should proceed immediately to Prome and join the head-quarters of the army under General Godwin. With a small escort of Sepoys under the command of Captain Baugh of the 26th Bengal Light Infantry, this enormous living column commenced its march. The frontier line in the immediate vicinity of Arracan was held by the 68th B. N. I. and the Arracan Battalion, under the command of Major Maling and Captain Barry, and a strong detachment of H. M.'s 18th R. I. and 4th Sikhs, under command of Major Edwards, marched from Prome to receive charge of the elephants and reinforce their escort whilst proceeding through the Tonghoo Pass into Pegu. [Then follows a detailed account of Captain Nuthall's successful capture of the strong stockade of Nareghain, or as a London critic expressively styles the feat, "the brilliant taking of the Aeng Pass." Captain Sutherland being left in command of the stockade he had so gallantly captured, all fears regarding the safety of the elephants or their escort were at an end.]

About 75 miles to the eastward of Bassein the Burmese had strongly intrenched themselves in a stockade which they had erected on the left bank of the Duggah Creek, and had not only planted some small guns within their entrenchments, but had staked the creek from bank to bank, with a view of preventing the possibility of an attack or approach by water. From this stockade bands

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of armed men would issue, eager for plunder and rapine, keeping the surrounding districts in a state of uneasiness and alarm, and ready to fall upon any detached parties of the British forces which might be escorting baggage or stores on the great lines of communication, and Captain Fytche saw the necessity of dispersing and destroying them before he could hope to restore the confidence of the inhabitants or settle the district. On the 21st January, then, accompanied by Captain Rennie, at the head of 80 armed sailors, and four small guns under the charge of Lieutenant Manderson of the Bengal Artillery, Captain Fytche sailed in the *Nemesis* to meet the boats of the *Zenobia*, towing which the little steamer made its way up the Duggah Creek. [The adventures of this gallant body till the end of the month were of the most brilliant description.] On the termination of the gallant affair against the Minku, the British sailors immediately returned to Laminah, worn out with fatigue, but full of rejoicing at their success, which all parties united in mainly attributing to the gallantry and untiring energy of Captain Fytche.

Regarding the Donnabew disaster, the *Review* says—It would appear that Captain Loch, a truly gallant sailor, assumed improperly the command of the united force; an assumption which Major Minchin appears to have succumbed to, overlooking, or being ignorant of the rule, which assigns the command of a united force on land to the Senior Military Officer, just as rigidly as it does to the Naval Officer at sea.

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[We have briefly narrated the insurrection at Beling in the Narrative, and the doings of the gallant detachment of the 1st M. N. I. under Captain Wright and Ensign Newdick of that Regiment.] It was then at once determined to re-capture Beling. The Governor-General dispatched four Companies of the 2d Bengal Europeans to occupy Moulmein, while a column advanced against Moung-Goung. Through the indefatigable exertions of the troops —men of the 49th and 1st M. N. I., a company of Bengal Fusiliers from Sitang, and a small detail of Madras Artillery—and the marked zeal of Colonel Bogle, Captain Berdmore, Majors Hall and Gottreux, and others, Beling was re-captured,* and Captain Berdmore offered a reward of 1,000 rupees for Moung-Goung.

* 19th April.

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NOTE 1, page 230.

A General Order afterwards appeared, containing the Governor-General's opinion upon the conduct of the troops engaged. "The Governor-General in Council sincerely laments the fall of so many gallant men, with Captain Loch of H. M. ship *Winchester*, and Captain Price of the 67th B. N. I., and the further loss of the services of a large proportion of wounded men. His Lordship in Council concurs with you* and Brigadier Dickenson in thinking that no blame attaches to Major Minchin, excepting that which may belong to his having too easily joined in an operation which required the utmost caution. The conduct of the Officers and men under the command of Major Minchin is entitled to the highest praise." "Nothing," his Lordship in Council observes, "could have been better and braver than their bearing throughout the whole affair, and great credit is due, especially to Lieutenant Maiseyand Ensign Boileau."

Alas! that we should have had to record the death of the latter fine young Officer in the successful operations against Myat-Toon.

NOTE 2, page 243.

METEOROLOGICAL NOTICE OF BURMAH.

APRIL.—This is the hottest month in the year. The thermometer ranges during the day from 90° to 95°, and

* General Godwin, who, in a letter to the Brigadier, said that the fault committed by the Major consisted in his not insisting on the entire direction of the force the moment it landed.

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the heat is very oppressive, especially during the latter part of the month, relieved however by a breeze from the south and south-west, which springs up about 10 o'clock in the forenoon. Rain rarely falls in this month, although sometimes it does in small quantities. [At Tonghoo, during this month, the thermometer in houses stood at 105°.]

MAY.—During this month the monsoon changes, which usually takes place from the 15th to the end. The weather, till this happens, is similar to that experienced last month. Occasional showers and north-westers are frequent during the latter part, at times attended with the most vivid lightning and loud thunder. Average fall of rain during the month about 15 inches.

JUNE.—This may be called the first month of the south-west monsoon. The heavy rains which fall now cool the air and encourage vegetation. Violent gusts of wind and heavy squalls, generally from the south, are frequent, commonly about the middle of the month. Average fall of rain 40 inches.

JULY.—This month is attended with very heavy rains and much wind; the weather is gloomy, stormy, and cool, whilst at intervals it is fair and mild, particularly from 4 to 7 in the afternoon; with so much regularity does this occur, that during this and next month we can almost depend on 23 days to enjoy a fair afternoon. Average fall of rain from 50 to 60 inches, though 70 have been known to fall during the month.

AUGUST.—The heaviest rains usually fall in this month. The weather is cool and pleasant but for the dampness, which is very destructive to clothes, books, &c. The

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wind blows strong and steady from the south-west quarter during the whole of the month, with few deviations from that point. Average fall of rain 55 inches.

SEPTEMBER.—The rains subside considerably towards the middle of the month; and from that to the first or second week of October the change of the monsoon usually takes place, with its accompaniments of north-westers, lightning, and thunder. Towards the end the winds are generally light and variable, and the weather is cool. Average fall of rain 30 inches.

OCTOBER.—Showers fall occasionally to the middle of the month. Winds light and variable, blowing from the north-east to the south; lightning and thunder are frequent during the evenings and nights, and the weather is cool. During the latter part of the month the wind blows light from the north-east in the day, veering to the south in the evening. Average fall of rain 5 inches.

NOVEMBER.—This is the first month of what is called the cold season. The days are hot, with scarcely any wind, but the nights are cool and agreeable. Towards the end a delightful breeze from the north springs up about 9 or 10 o'clock, changing to the south-east during the night. Rain seldom, and then trifling in quantity.

DECEMBER.—This is the most pleasant month in the year. A refreshing breeze from the north springs up about 10 o'clock, veering by the east to the south in the evening; mornings and evenings cold; fogs frequent from 7 to 9 o'clock in the mornings, and towards the end of the month dense. No rain.

Copied from the "Notice" in the Madras Artillery Hospital at Rangoon.

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Addendum.—With the exception of increased heat, what is said above of December is nearly applicable to JANUARY and FEBRUARY. The month of MARCH (*ta-goo la* in Burmese, *la* meaning *month*,) for the most part very hot and sultry, with an occasional breeze for a short period, day and night. During this month and the next the Burmese hold a water feast, to hail a beneficial monsoon for their crops; also another water feast in September, towards the end of the monsoon.*

NOTE 3, page 268.

Having in the Chapter relating to Pegu, page 126, remarked on the courage displayed by our new soldiers—the Sikhs—in action, it will have been seen also how well they fought during Sir John Cheape's operations near Donnabew. They seemed to possess by instinct the knowledge of how to use the British bayonet. Two of their Officers, including their Commandant, disabled by wounds, and with but one European Officer to lead them, their courage remained conspicuous to the last; vieing with that of the Europeans, notwithstanding all natural obstacles, in the gallant endeavour to annihilate the redoubtable Chieftain and all his followers!

NOTE 4, page 275.

When the manuscript of this Chapter had been dispatched to Europe for publication, the Author received

* According to Lieutenant Chase (*Burmese Hand-Book*), the true epoch of Burman time is the annihilation of Gaudama, 540 years before Christ. Time is measured by lunar months, 12 of which make a common year, and every third year admits an intercalar month of 30 days. A month is distinguished into two parts, the waxing and the wane. The full moon falls on the 15th of the waxing, the change on the 14th or 15th of the wane.

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another account of Sir John Cheape's operations against Myat-Toon from an Officer engaged. This being the second authentic description from the scene of action, in addition to the Despatch, the writer hoped to gather something more of interest for his readers. That he was not disappointed the following anecdotes of bravery will show :—

An Affghan havildar of the 4th Sikhs, named Jezut Khan, behaved splendidly on the 17th. On the 11th some of his caste were killed and wounded when the enemy attacked our rear-guard. He then took an oath on his sword that he would kill a Burman with it or die ; accordingly on the 17th he advanced a-head of every one else, determined to be revenged. When he got about 15 yards from the breastwork he received one shot in the hip and another in the arm, but this did not deter him in the least, and he still continued to push on. When he got almost within reach for the sacred sword to begin its work, he was shot right through the body ; and thus the brave Affghan fell !

On the 19th Sergeant-Major Fury of the 4th Sikhs behaved very gallantly. When we got within 80 yards of the deadly breastwork, and some men did not move forward with that alacrity he thought desirable, he became almost frantic with rage. To use the graphic language of the narrator, "he began kicking and striking Europeans and Natives right and left, to make them go on ; and whilst thus engaged he was killed dead, with three bullets through him."

Whatever people may say to the contrary, incidents such as these are always found in the *realities* of war ; and there is no satisfactory way of accounting for them.

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In the same writer's opinion, the Artillery were of little service in the operations against Myat-Toon. While the road was being made for the guns the Infantry were exposed to the fire of the breastworks; and when the guns did come up, they did not do sufficient damage. On two occasions only were they of any service. The rockets he considered worse than useless. The first rocket fired by us was the signal for the enemy to rush to their arms and open a fire on us. From our proximity to the breastwork, and the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy, it is wonderful that many more were not killed. And such is War!

NOTE 5, page 325.

Next to the expenditure of human life in a war, ranks the expenditure of treasure. This latter, in an age filled with rash "economists and calculators," has apparently been much overrated. Even L.2,000,000 sterling was not too great a price to pay for the advantages gained by the annexation of Pegu. But L.920,000 only is said to be a "close approximation" to the cost of the war for 17 months. Among the items, of course the Commissariat charges are the principal, or L.250,000. In round numbers the expense of the war therefore has been L.650,000 a-year.

NOTE 6, page 399.

Meeaday, signifying in the Burmese language "very rich," was nearly deserted on our occupation of it, there being scarcely a house in the whole place in a fit condition for quartering troops. There are but few inhabitants, and a very inferior bazaar. The space occupied by the villagers is outside the south gate, extending 100 yards in

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length and breadth; all beyond this is inundated during the monsoon, and cultivated in the dry season. Our frontier station is about 15 feet above the highest rise of the river, surrounded by a stockade, forming an island in the height of the monsoon. Our present position extends from the, south gate to the breastwork marked C on the "Plan of the Stockade of Meeaday," but will be extended on the arrival of more troops. This has proved to be one of our healthiest stations, only six deaths having occurred from the end of January to the end of June, out of a force of nearly 500 men. The heat is excessive during the months of March, April, and May, the thermometer averaging from 104° to 111° in the houses.—*Report* by Lieutenants BRIDGE & LLOYD, Madras Artillery.

NOTE 7, page 405.

By a Government Notification of the 5th May, Mr E. O'Riley was appointed Assistant Commissioner at Tonghoo, under the Commissioner of Pegu.

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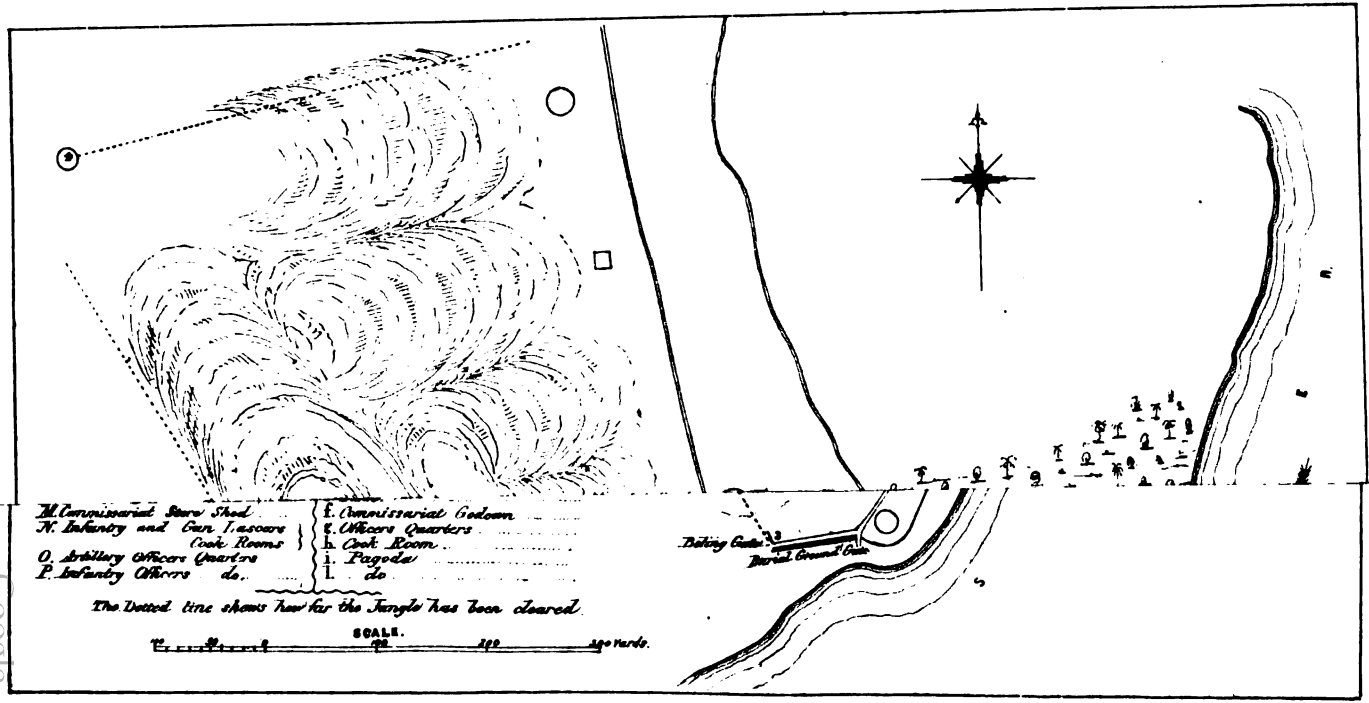
M. Commissariat Store Shed
N. Infantry and Gun Lascars Cook Rooms
O. Artillery Officers Quarters
P. Infantry Officers do.
E. Commissariat Godown
F. Officers Quarters
b. Cook Room
i. Pagoda
l. do
The Dotted line shews how far the Jungle has been cleared.
SCALE.
Yds. 50 0 100 200 300 400 yards.
Bathing Gate
Burial Ground Gate

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

MEMORANDA REGARDING THE ATTACKS ON MARTABAN ON THE 15TH APRIL, AND 26TH AND 28TH MAY 1852.

[From the Madras Artillery Records, Vol. XVI, No. VIII, *August* 1852.]

ON the morning of the 15th of April, about half-past twelve, the Burmese appeared in force on the plateau marked 1; at the same time parties of the enemy attacked our picquets 2, 3, placed on the right and left of the camp. (*Vide Plan.*)

The Light Field Battery, as per margin,* was drawn up in position on the ground where the Artillery gun shed now stands; and as soon as the guns opened fire the Burmese retired to the party which was attacking the picquet on the right, No. 2; the enemy kept up a continued fire from jingals and muskets until half-past three. When the Burmese were driven from our front, one 9-pounder gun and one 24-pounder howitzer were thrown forward to the right, so as to bear upon the party attacking the right picquet, and one 9-pounder gun was moved to the left to assist the left picquet.

The ground would not admit of placing more guns in these positions.

* Two 24-pounder howitzers; four 9-pounder guns.

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When this attack was made there had been no time to stockade the place.

The stockade round the camp (which includes the plateau 1,) was completed towards the end of April, and it having been resolved not to occupy the Pagoda Hill, the following pieces of ordnance * were placed in position so as to command all the approaches to the place.

The jungle round the camp and stockade was cleared to the distance of about 500 yards.

On the morning of the 26th May the enemy advanced along the ridge of the hill from 4 to 5, another party came along the road and jungle from the North, firing upon the Coolies, and took cover in a Poonghee house close to the small pagoda 1, and distant 200 yards from the North Battery; a few rounds of cannister drove them from their cover, and in a very short time the Burmese were compelled to seek shelter in the dense jungle. A third party of the enemy skirmished from the Hill Pagoda to 6, but were dispersed shortly after the guns of the South Battery opened fire.

As the Burmese continued to keep up an irregular fire from the jungle, a party of the 49th Regiment N. I., was sent out by the Hill Pagoda to clear the jungle, but coming across a breastwork of the enemy near to pagoda 4, and from which a heavy fire was kept up, they were obliged to return to camp with a loss as per margin.†

* Two 9-pounder brass guns at A. } or North Battery.
One 24- „ „ howitzer at C. }

Two 9- „ „ guns } at B.
One 24- „ „ howitzer }
One 9- „ „ gun at 2. } South Battery.

with two 5¼ inch mortars in reserve.

† 1 killed; 13 wounded; 3 since dead.

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The gun-boats from the *Feroze*, with a Company of H. M's 51st, arrived about 11 o'clock. The Company of the 51st, with a party of the 49th, were then sent out, covered by the fire from the guns of the North Battery, whilst the boats of the *Feroze* proceeded up the Salween River and kept up a fire upon the enemy as they were retreating. The party and boats returned about two o'clock. The number of the enemy was estimated at at least 1,400.

During the day we received one 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars from Moulmein, and placed them in position on the flanks of the North Battery.

On the night of the 28th May the enemy were observed at a Pagoda about one mile distant from the North Battery, and consequently too far off to insert in the Plan. The Burmese fired a few rounds upon, it is supposed, some boats in the river. We fired five rounds from the 8-inch mortar, and the accounts received were that the enemy were so taken by surprise, and one of their head men being wounded, that they would not advance further. The 5½-inch mortar fired a few rounds.

The Pagoda on the hill was stockaded early in June, and one 24-pounder howitzer taken from the South Battery, and one 9-pounder gun from the Picquet-House 2, were placed in position as marked A B.

All the guns in position are under sheds, and are placed on wooden platforms. The ammunition-boxes have been taken off the limbers and waggons, and placed in rear of their respective guns.

The distances of the various pagodas, hills, &c., being known, a certain number of shells and spherical case shot are fixed and ready for immediate use.

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General Godwin, after inspecting the various works, &c. on the 9th July, expressed himself in a General Order to the effect that he considered the place to be in a state of complete security.

(Signed) J. S. BAIRD, 2d Lieut.
A. Compy. 2d Battn. Artillery.

MARTABAN, 12*th July* 1852.

[In Chapter XII, page 172, of *A Narrative of the Operations at Rangoon*, in that portion relating to the Burmese attack on Martaban on the 26th of May, it is stated on the authority of a writer in the *Moulmein Times*, that the *Feroze* hit and destroyed the beauty of the White Pagoda at a distance of 3½ *miles*. Now, with due deference to such authority, whoever he may be, such effective firing, with such a range, seems hardly possible. Two miles and a half, say equal to about 4,500 yards, was probably the *maximum* of distance. This would be a fair shot even for a 68-pounder gun.]

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APPENDIX II.

THE ARMY OF AVA.

If any man had ventured to predict twelve months ago that in the middle of the present year India would be resounding with the din of preparation for another war,—that the Bay of Bengal would be covered with steamers and transports, and that a large army would be organized to plant the British standard on the walls of Ameerapoora, and quench the glory of Alompra's dynasty, he would have been considered as the wildest and the most reckless of prophets. Yet such is the positive fact. No sooner have we begun to congratulate ourselves on the establishment of peace, and the enjoyment of some little leisure for internal improvements, and the recruiting of our finances, than we are summoned again into the field by the insolence and restlessness of our neighbours, who have completely forgotten the lesson we taught them, and the territorial penalty we inflicted on them in the last war. The demonstration of our military power made in April, and the decisive blow struck at Rangoon and the maritime towns having failed to produce the desired effect, we have been left without any alternative but to assemble a large army, and inflict on these barbarians the chastisement which their insolence has merited. It may be all very well for

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the journals in England, in order to exhibit a sanctimonious love of the virtue of peace, as well as to indulge in the luxury of a little censure, to denounce Lord Dalhousie and the Burmese war, but we challenge them one and all to go over every successive step in the progress of events, from the first demand of reparation to the assemblage of the Army of Ava, and say whether any Minister of England, who might have been treated in the same manner by any European Power, would not have been constrained by the voice of public opinion, embodied in the public journals, to have adopted precisely the same course. Lord Dalhousie's demands of indemnity for the past and security for the future were moderate in themselves, and very temperately made; they were met with a shew of compliance from the Court, but the truculent Governor sent down to succeed his obnoxious predecessor proved far more insolent and overbearing. The Court was evidently prepared for war, and determined to plunge into it at all hazards. The Governor treated our Officers with a degree of contempt which could not have been overlooked, and which he never would have ventured to practise if he had not known that those at the head of affairs were fully prepared to back him with the whole power of the kingdom. Every opportunity which has been given to the Burmese of opening negotiations and averting hostilities has been neglected, and instead of applying for peace they have made every preparation for resistance. The war has been brought on by the wanton provocation of a barbarous power, and we trust it will issue in carrying the blessings of civilisation through a vast and hitherto unapproachable region.—*Friend of India, July* 29, 1852.

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APPENDIX III.

THE MADRAS ARMY.

THE statement recently made in the House of Lords respecting the Madras Army has called forth an elaborate rejoinder in a letter to the *Times* from Colonel Alexander, late Adjutant-General of that force. Speaking of the operations of the last war in Ava, Lord Ellenborough stated that the army by which it was conducted was chiefly drawn from the Presidency by the great personal influence of Sir Thomas Munro; he further observed that the soldiers of the Madras Army being accustomed to take their wives and children with them into camp, are thrown into a state of disaffection, almost amounting to mutiny, when they are ordered beyond sea and compelled to leave their families behind them without the means of support. His Lordship asserted that when he arrived at Madras he found two regiments in this condition, in consequence of the misery and distress of the wives and children of the men who had already sailed for China.

"I beg then most respectfully to state that his Lordship has been entirely misinformed regarding the feelings of the Madras Army. When the troops were required for the Burmese War in 1824, so far from there being the least unwillingness to enter upon that service, not only

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were there abundance of volunteers, but every Native Officer and Sepoy having had the option given him whether he would go or not, of the 24,000 who were required there was but one Sepoy who availed himself of the choice to stay, and he remained with the permission of the Commander-in-Chief and the contempt of his comrades.

"That Sir Thomas Munro was well known to, and beloved and confided in by the Sepoys, not only as a Governor, but as one of their own Officers, is undoubtedly true; his personal influence however was never required, and had literally nothing to do with inducing them to embark; they followed their colours and officers on this, as they have done on every occasion that they have been required for the service of the State."

Colonel Alexander then goes on to state that the Civil Governor in India has no more personal intercourse with the Native Army than the Secretary at War in England has with the garrisons at Portsmouth or Woolwich; and asserts that the efforts of Sir Thomas Munro were directed not to stimulate the zeal of the Madras Army, which he well knew he could rely upon, but to prevent the Supreme Government from retiring from a conflict entered upon without forethought or due preparation. Respecting the domestic arrangement of the Sepoys, he thus corrects the statement of Lord Ellenborough:—

"His Lordship has again been most completely misled regarding Madras Sepoys on field or foreign service; and I believe he will find that during a Parliamentary speech his memory for the moment failed him regarding the domestic circumstances of the Sepoys of Bengal, whose families, as a general rule, never leave their native vil-

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lages to live even in cantonments or garrisons. The Madras Sepoy marries when he is young, and his family accompanies him wherever he may be stationed in India in time of peace; the moment however he is required for embarkation or active service, be it where it may, his family is left behind; and I never knew nor heard of even a wish being expressed by Madras Sepoys that their families should follow them across the sea, or accompany them to the field."

The uneasiness of the soldiery alluded to by Lord Ellenborough at the time of his arrival is ascribed by Colonel Alexander to the injudicious reductions which had been made in the pensions formerly granted for wounds, and which Lord Hardinge afterwards found it necessary to countermand. He also states that the dissatisfied troops subsequently went most enthusiastically; and he distinctly denies that the families of the troops that went to China were left in misery and distress.

"The regulations of the Madras Government are in this respect admirable, and when a regiment is ordered on foreign service the Native Officers and men are called upon to name the villages at which they wish their families to reside; they are permitted to grant what are called 'family certificates,' by which they allot to them any portion of their pay they think proper, and this is disbursed every month with the same regularity as is the pay to the troops. A steady Native Officer, with some old non-commissioned Officers and Sepoys, the least fit for hard service, and in whom the Sepoys have confidence, is left in charge of the families, and these men are aware that every representation they may make, even to the miscarriage of a letter, will be carefully attended to. There are also European Officers at

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all the principal places where the families dwell, charged with the duty of paying their monthly stipends, and attending to their wants."

Colonel Alexander then shows that the existing regulations require no alteration, and that they are well calculated to confer those benefits which his Lordship's whole career in India testified his anxiety to secure for the Native Army.—*Home News, April* 24, 1852.

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APPENDIX IV.

RIVER STEAMERS FOR THE IRRAWADDY.

After the monsoon it is to be hoped we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity to take possession of Lower Pegu, and thus connect Arracan with our Tenasserim Provinces. The Irrawaddy has a depth of 40 feet of water off Rangoon, and the river is navigable for vessels of 200 tons as high up as Ava, thus offering every facility for the employment of a steam flotilla, which might be assembled after the rains, and the following river steamers of the Indian Navy are of a size suitable for the service :—

	Horse Power.	Guns.
Assyria	40	2
Comet	40	2
Conqueror	50	2
Meanee	40	2
Meteor	24	1 and 6 wall pieces.
Nimrod	40	5
Nitocris	40	5
Snake	10	4

Other steamers of suitable draught of water might also be taken up at Bombay and Calcutta, exclusive of the vessels of Government of size appropriate for the service.—*February* 29, 1852.

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Although none of the above-named vessels were employed on the Irrawaddy, still it was announced at the end of August that the Honourable Company's inland steamers *Damoodah*, *Indus*, and *Nerbudda*, were to be fitted with two howitzers and "long nines" each, and proceed shortly to Rangoon. These would form a most valuable addition to the steam flotilla.

As every one knows, steam navigation in India is not only of the highest commercial, but of the highest political importance.

The first steps in this invaluable enterprize were taken as early as 1817 by Captain Davidson of the Bengal Engineers. His engine was of 8-horse power, designed for a river boat. In 1822 Davidson's engine was attached to a dredging-boat which, on the invasion of Burmah, was converted into a floating battery and sent to Arracan. "Although its utmost speed was only four knots, much benefit was derived from it in the passage of troops over the rivers and estuaries of that coast." "In 1821 Mr Robarts carried out machinery for a vessel to be employed at Canton in the China trade. Circumstances having prevented this destination, it was taken to Calcutta and offered to the Marquess of Hastings's Government, who after some hesitation declined to purchase it. The merchants then bought it for 65,000 rupees, and for about an equal sum attached to it a teak-built ship named the *Diana*, which was launched on the 12th July 1823. She plied for hire on the River Hoogley, and proved to be extremely useful as a passage-vessel for the Port of Calcutta; not being adapted however for a tug, the receipts did not cover her expenses, hence the shareholders became willing to sell, and the Government, upon declaring

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war against the Burmese, bought her in April 1824 for 80,000 rupees, on the strong recommendation of Captain Marryat, who conducted the expedition to Rangoon. The *Diana* there proved so very serviceable, that during the whole of the war she never was allowed to leave the river Irrawaddy; she reconnoitred the stockaded positions, chased and captured war-boats, greatly facilitated the advance of the army to Prome, and carried Mr Crawford as far as Ameerapoora, 500 miles up the stream. The novelty of this structure produced a powerful effect on the minds of the Natives, who of course could not know the limits of its power, and if we had been able to avail ourselves of a flotilla of steamers the campaign would have proved much shorter and more decisive, as well as less expensive and bloody."—*British India*, Chap. XVI.

In July 1852, on our steamers reaching Prome, it was reported that a steamer belonging to the King of Ava had left for Ava the day previous to their arrival. The Golden Foot then possessed a steamer in addition to the one taken and burnt by the *Tenasserim* in April! The King of Siam, going a step further, had commenced the construction of a great war-steamer,—all exhibiting the germs of a scientific revolution in Eastern Asia.

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APPENDIX V.

[From the Fort St George Gazette Extraordinary, *November* 4, 1852.]

Fort St George, 4th November 1852.

THE Right Honourable the Governor in Council directs the re-publication at this Presidency of the following General Orders by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council :—

GENERAL ORDERS BY THE MOST NOBLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

Fort William, Foreign Department, the 23d Oct. 1852.

The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council has much satisfaction in publishing, for general information, Despatches received from Commodore Lambert and from Major-General Godwin, which report the capture and occupation of the City of Prome, after some resistance, and with comparatively trifling loss.

The steam squadron and the boats of Her Majesty's ships conveying the troops upon the Irrawaddy anchored off Prome on the 9th of October. A fire from the shore was silenced by the fire of the steamers and of the boats.

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The troops having been landed, drove the enemy—some 3,000 or 4,000 strong—from the suburbs; and on subsequently advancing to the great Pagoda and to the heights beyond, they found the position wholly abandoned by the Burman force.

The Governor-General in Council desires to express in the strongest terms his obligations to Commodore Lambert, for the care, the energy, and unwearied zeal which he has shown in directing the Naval preparations for advance, and which have conduced so largely to the early and successful renewal of operations in the field.

His Lordship in Council begs to offer his thanks to Captain Loch and to Commander Shadwell, for their conduct of the Service on the river; and to Commander Rice, for his direction of the body of seamen upon shore.

His thanks are also due to Commander Campbell of the Indian Navy, whose merit has been acknowledged by the Commodore.

The Governor-General in Council has viewed with high approbation the services of the officers and men who, upon this occasion and for several months past, have been employed in boats upon the river, subjected to severe exposure, and engaged in harassing duties, which they have performed with the utmost alacrity and cheerfulness, and with conspicuous advantage to the public service.

To the Officers, seamen, and marines of Her Majesty's ships of the Indian Navy and of the Bengal Marine who have been serving upon the Irrawaddy, and to Commander Tarleton who long commanded them, the Governor-General in Council is desirous of offering his hearty thanks.

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The Governor-General in Council has in like manner to assure Major-General Godwin of the satisfaction with which he has viewed the skill and judgment by which the Major-General enabled the troops to obtain possession of an important post without delay and with but little loss.

To Major Mayhew, Deputy Adjutant-General; to Major Allan, Deputy Quartermaster-General; to Captain Smith, Interpreter, to Captain Burne, Military Secretary, and Captain Chads, A. D. C., the Governor-General in Council tenders his thanks.

Especially to Captain Christie and to Captain Welsh of Her Majesty's 80th Regiment, for the gallant manner in which they led their men to the attack, and to all the Officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the force, the Governor-General in Council desires to give assurance of his cordial approbation.

While thus congratulating the Naval and Military Forces on the first result of their advance, the Governor-General in Council feels it to be due to the memory of an old and gallant sailor that he should add a public expression of the deep regret with which he has received intimation of the death of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Ships in the Indian Seas.

Although Admiral Austen did not survive to witness the successful conclusion of the operations in which he had shared, the Governor-General in Council desires to record his admiration of the staunch high spirit which, notwithstanding his age and previous suffering, had led the Rear-Admiral to take his part in the trying service which has closed his career.

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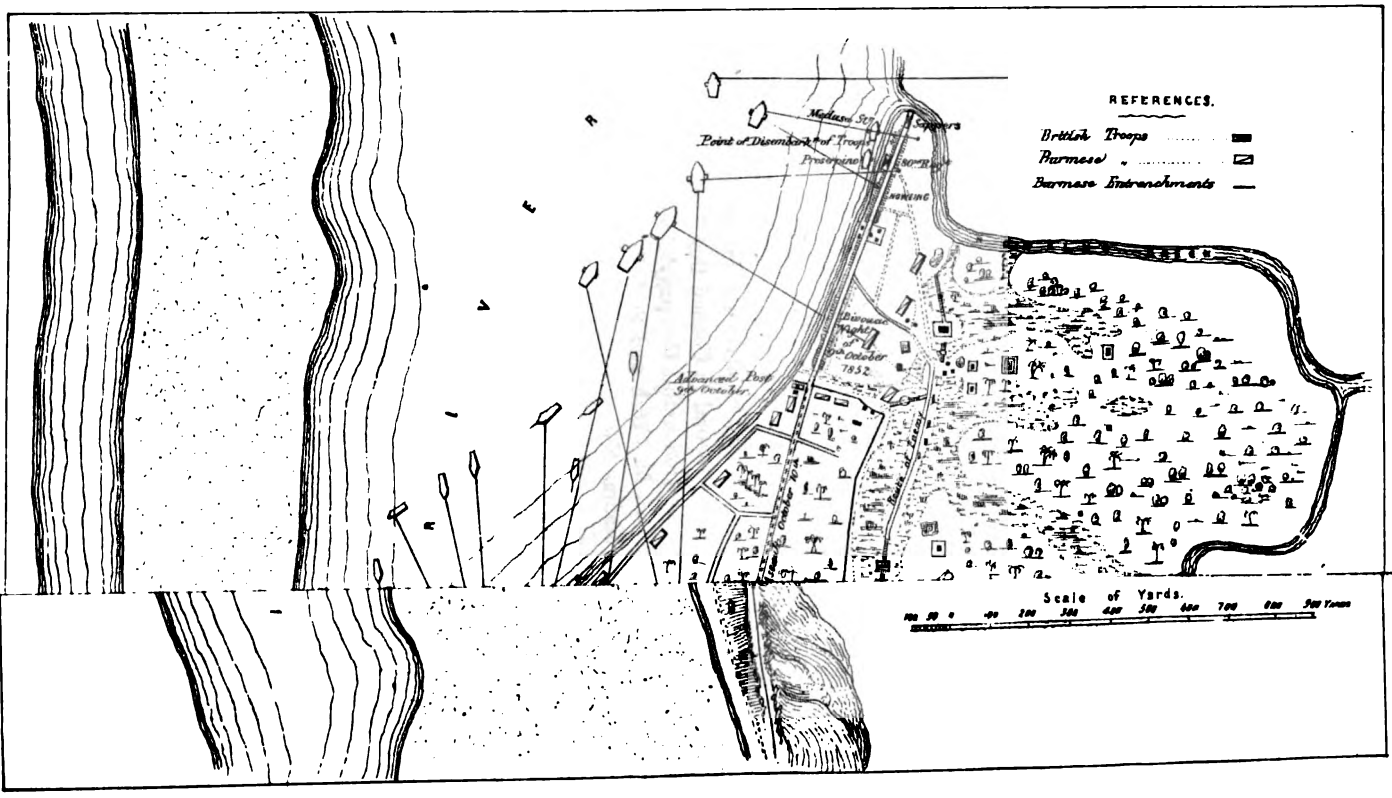

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His Excellency Rear-Admiral Austen has afforded to the Government of India at all times a cordial and constant aid.

The Governor-General in Council has been grateful for his services, and laments his death.

(Signed) C. ALLEN, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

COPIES.

To CHARLES ALLEN, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Calcutta.

Her Majesty's ship FOX'S *boat, on board the* Fire Queen, *at Prome, the* 11*th October* 1852.

SIR,—I request you may be pleased to inform the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council that having embarked on board the Honourable Company's steam-vessels under my orders H. M.'s 18th and 80th Regiments, the 35th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, a detachment of Sappers and Miners, and of the Bengal Artillery* with their field guns, I despatched them as they were ready to rendezvous off Yangernsiah, a town situated at the upper end of the Panlang Creek, which joins the Irrawaddy to the Rangoon River.

2. The Commissariat, Ordnance, and Engineers' stores, and about 1,000 followers attached to the regiments, were conveyed in the steamers, large Burmese cargo-boats, five small schooners, and a barque.

The cargo-boats, manned by Burmese crews, advanced in three divisions under convoy of the barges and pinnaces

* Should be *Madras Artillery.*

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of Her Majesty's ships *Fox*, *Winchester*, and *Hastings;* the barque and schooners were towed by the steamers.

3. These arrangements being completed, I left Rangoon on the 24th ultimo, and Major-General Godwin joined me on the following day at Yangernsiah.

4. Having hoisted my broad pendant on board the *Fire Queen*, the steamer in which the Major-General embarked, I weighed from Yangernsiah on September 27th with the steam squadron specified in Enclosure No. 1, and proceeded up the Irrawaddy to Prome, calling at Henzadah on my way.

5. On the morning of the 9th of October Prome was in sight, and on the squadron nearing the city the enemy opened fire with a couple of guns and musketry, which was returned by the steamers as we proceeded into the bay, where I anchored in a convenient position, abreast of the town, for landing the troops.

6. The enemy continuing to keep up a fire after we had anchored, I sent the boats of the squadron under the command of Captain Loch, C. B., of Her Majesty's ship *Winchester*, to throw in a few shells and cannister shot amongst them, which had the effect of silencing it for a time, although they kept up a very spirited fire on the boats, which wounded two seamen.

7. They then brought a gun down abreast of the *Fire Queen*, but had only time to give us one shot before it was dismounted by the fire from the steamers, which effectually cleared a landing-place.

8. Major-General Godwin now expressed his wish to land the 80th Regiment and a party of Artillery with two

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guns, at half-past four, which was effected without any opposition, and the lower town cleared of the enemy.

9. At daylight next morning the remainder of the troops were landed, and a Brigade of 50 seamen being formed under Commander Rice, at the Major-General's request, to assist in working the guns, the pagoda and other parts of the city were taken possession of, the Burmese flying as the forces advanced.

10. Thus the important city of Prome was occupied by British troops with the trifling loss of one killed and three wounded on the part of the Army, while in the Squadron only four were wounded, who are named in Enclosure No. 2.

11. My thanks are due to Captain Loch, C. B., for the assistance he rendered me throughout these operations, also to Commanders Shadwell and Rice of Her Majesty's ships *Sphinx* and *Hastings*, the former for his unremitting attentions to the instructions I had sent him previously to my entering the Irrawaddy, and to the latter Officer for the part he took when on shore with the Brigade of seamen. Nor can I speak too highly of Commander Campbell, the Officers and men of the Indian Navy and Bengal Marine.

The skill and perseverance displayed by the Officers and men belonging to the boats appointed to convoy the cargo-boats from Rangoon to Prome, a distance of more than 200 miles, against a rapid stream, exposed occasionally to a fire from the enemy, is deserving of my highest praise. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE R. LAMBERT,
Commodore 1st Class, Commander-in-Chief.

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Enclosure No. 1, in Commodore LAMBERT's Letter, dated 11*th October* 1852.

A List of the Naval Force employed at the occupation of the City of Prome, under the command of Commodore Lambert, on the 9th and 10th of October 1852.

Fire Queen—Bengal Marine, (broad pendant of the Commodore,) 8 guns, S. G. Boon, Commander. On board—Commodore George R. Lambert, commanding the East India and China Station; J. L. Southey, Esquire, Secretary; Lieutenant George Rice, R. N., Flag Lieutenant; Mr Cottam, Midshipman, and the gig's crew of H. M.'s ship *Fox*.

Enterprise—Bengal Marine, 6 guns, G. T. Neblett, Commander. On board—Captain G. G. Loch, C. B.; the Honourable Mr Lascelles, Midshipman, and the gig's crew of H. M.'s ship *Winchester*.

Mahanuddy—Bengal Marine, 4 guns, J. Simson, Commander. On board—Commander C. F. A. Shadwell; His Serene Highness Prince Ernest of Leiningen, Midshipman, and the gig's crew of H. M.'s ship *Sphinx*.

Sesostris—Indian Navy, 5 guns, Commander C. D. Campbell, I. N. Steam Frigate, with two 8-inch guns.

Medusa—Indian Navy, 6 guns, Lieutenant Fraser, I. N.

Nemesis—Bengal Marine, 6 guns, R. Goodwin, Commander.

Proserpine—Bengal Marine, 6 guns, A. Brooking, Commander.

Phlegethon—Bengal Marine, 6 guns, A. Fryer, Commander.

Boats of the Squadron conveying cargo-boats laden with stores and provisions:—H. M.'s ship *Fox*, barge and pinnace,

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2 guns; H. M.'s ship *Winchester*, barge and pinnace, 2 guns; H. M.'s ship *Hastings*, launch and gig, 1 gun; and H. M.'s ship *Sphinx*, pinnace, 1 gun, under the command of Commander E. B. Rice, of H. M.'s ship *Hastings*.

Officers employed in these boats:—Mr Copland, Mate; Mr Lucas, Midshipman, Mr Hudson, Midshipman, H. M.'s ship *Fox*, under the superintendence of Lieutenant Rice.

Lieutenants H. S. Hillyar and R. B. Pearse; Messrs Round and Wilson, and the Baron Van Otter, Mates; and Mr Slade, Assistant-Surgeon, H. M.'s ship *Winchester*.

Mr Nott, Acting Mate, and Lieutenant Holland, Royal Marines, H. M.'s ship *Hastings*.

Mr Smith, Midshipman, H. M.'s ship *Sphinx*.

N.B.—The launch, 2d pinnace, and cutter, of H. M.'s ship *Fox*, under Lieutenants Kennedy and Mason, and the launch of H. M.'s ship *Winchester*, assisted in convoying as far as Henzadah; and the barge and pinnace of H. M.'s ship *Hastings*, with Mr Davidson, Acting Mate, and Mr Luttrell, Midshipman, and Dr Woods, M.A., M.D., Assistant-Surgeon on board, under the superintendence of Lieutenant Edye, from Henzadah to Prome.

(Signed) GEORGE LAMBERT, Commodore.

Enclosure No. 2, in Commodore LAMBERT's Letter, dated 11*th October* 1852.

List of WOUNDED in the Flotilla under the command of Commodore Lambert, at Prome, 9th October 1852.

H. M.'s ship *Fox's* barge—David Reid, A. B.

H. M.'s ship *Winchester's* pinnace—David Evens, A.B.; —and

H. C.'s steam-vessel *Mahanuddy*—Two Natives of India.

(Signed) GEORGE LAMBERT, Commodore.

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No. 12.

Prome, 12th October 1852.

To CHARLES ALLEN, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

SIR,—The Governor-General in Council was aware of my intention, at the proper season, when the monsoon here had in some measure subsided, to break up the Army at Rangoon, and remove its head-quarters to Prome.

I have now the honour to inform you that the 1st Division of this Force is in possession of that city.

After some weeks of preparation the embarkation commenced on the 16th of September, and the 1st Division, amounting to 2,300 men, and consisting of one Company of the Madras Foot Artillery, with two 24-pounder howitzers and four 9-pounder guns, H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish, H. M.'s 80th Regiment, the 35th Regiment of Madras N. I., and 119 Sappers, were all on board by the 25th *idem*.

The flotilla arrived off Prome on the morning of the 9th of October; each ship was cannonaded from a projecting point on the hills, as it rounded to the city, with very little effect. This fire was returned with much spirit by the steamers.

The weather here is so intensely hot that I disembarked the Artillery under Brigadier Foord, H. M.'s 80th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Hutchinson, with the Sappers under Lieutenant Allen, on the evening of the same day; and by sunrise the next morning the 18th Royal Irish under Lieutenant-Colonel Coote, and the 35th Madras N. I. under Lieutenant-Colonel Apthorp.

The enemy, consisting of 3,000 or 4,000 men, occupied a very fine position on a range of hills about 1,000 yards

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east from the point where they first opened fire, commanding the town and the large pagoda—which they also occupied.

The troops were landed in the evening in a suburb to the north of, and beyond the town. I then ordered them to advance towards the position I had selected for the night, when upon the head of the column approaching a dry nullah dividing the suburb from the town, a very smart fire of musketry and jingals was simultaneously opened from some jungle and houses on our left, and a small pagoda in our front.

The Grenadiers of H. M.'s 80th Regiment under Captain Christie immediately advanced at the double towards the pagoda, and a party consisting of two companies of the same regiment under Captain Welsh, and accompanied by Brigadier Reignolds, were detached to the left, and in a very short time most gallantly drove the enemy out of their position, with the loss of only one man killed and a few wounded, Captain Welsh's party bringing in a jingal.

The Grenadiers of the 80th Regiment kept possession of the pagoda, which I made the right of my position, and the troops had excellent cover during the night, which was passed in perfect quietude.

The following morning, when the remainder of the troops were landed, I advanced through the town in a direction I had determined upon the day before, from plans of the place in my possession, covered by the flank Companies of the 18th Royal Irish and H. M.'s 80th Regiments, and two 24-pounder howitzers, which were drawn by a party of sailors under Commander Rice of H.M.'s ship *Hastings*. Upon our advanced guard reach-

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ing the pagoda it found that the enemy had abandoned that position, as well as the heights beyond it, leaving in our possession an entirely evacuated town, overrun with thick and rank vegetation, and I regret to add abounding in swamps.

It is evident that the enemy expected our force to land, and advance up the direct road to the pagoda, along which they had erected two or three small breastworks, as well as removed the planking of several wooden bridges leading to the pagoda and the heights beyond it; but landing at the point we did, not only gave us an excellent road but at the same time completely turned their position, rendering it impossible for them to hold it.

I have been for a long time aware of the assemblage of a large force about ten miles east of Prome, and at which place they also had a very formidable force in the last war, which took Sir Archibald Campbell several days to disperse. I have ascertained from very good authority that they have now about 18,000 men well posted in two or more stockades.

It is not my intention to disturb them at present in any way, as by their concentration at that place the fine force now assembling here will have an opportunity of striking a blow which may put an end to much future opposition. It was on this Burmese Army that the enemy retreated from Prome upon our entering it. The bravery and alacrity of the troops on this occasion was as conspicuous as it ever is.

His Lordship's thanks are deserved by Captain Christie of H. M.'s 80th Regiment, for the gallant manner in which he led his Company to the attack and capture of

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the small pagoda in our front, and to Captain Welsh who with two Companies of his regiment drove the enemy out of their position on our left.

The General Staff—Major Mayhew, Deputy Adjutant-General; Major Allan, Deputy Quartermaster-General; Captain Smith, Interpreter to the Force; as also my personal Staff—Captain Burne, Military Secretary, and Lieutenant Chads, Aide-de-Camp, were active in rendering me every assistance.

Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, commanding the Bengal Division, came up to Prome with the portion of his Division embarked, and was present throughout the whole of these operations; and I have great satisfaction in being enabled to leave him in command upon my return to Rangoon, where I am required, and for which place I shall leave this to-morrow.

I leave Major Fraser of the Engineers, and Major Allan, Deputy Quartermaster-General, at Prome, to carry out the necessary arrangements for the reception of the regiments which will hereafter arrive.

To Commodore Lambert your Lordship is deeply indebted for the unremitting exertions—calling forth all possible resources and anxious solicitude—which have accomplished the conveyance of the force to its destination up this noble but most difficult to be navigated river. To Commander Rice, for the exertions of himself and men under his command, I feel greatly indebted.

I have the honour to enclose a return of the casualties which have occurred during our operations before Prome, and to remain, SIR, your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) H. GODWIN, Major-General.

PROME, *the 12th October* 1852.

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Return of the KILLED and WOUNDED at the Attack and Capture of PROME on the 9th October 1852.

HEAD-QUARTERS, PROME, 12*th October* 1852.

Artillery.—None.

Engineers.—1 rank and file wounded severely.

Sappers and Miners.—None.

H. M.'s 18th R. I.—None.

H. M.'s 80th Foot.—1 rank and file killed, and 6 wounded,—1 severely, and 5 slightly.

35th Madras N. I.—1 rank and file wounded slightly.

Total.—1 killed and 8 wounded.

(Signed) H. GODWIN, Major-General,
Commanding Army of Burmah.

(Signed) W. MAYHEW, Major,
Deputy Adjutant-General, Army of Burmah.

(True copies.)

(Signed) C. ALLEN, Offg. Secy. to the
Govt. of India.

By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

(Signed) H. C. MONTGOMERY,
Chief Secretary.

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APPENDIX VI.

EXTRACTS FROM OFFICERS' LETTERS.

PROME.

PROME, *4th November* 1852.

THE Sappers have lost several of their men from cholera. Prome may become more healthy in time. R—— has been very unwell ever since his arrival; he was picking up, when a few days ago he over-exerted himself by walking too far, and he is again laid up with a bad attack of liver; he was very unwell indeed yesterday, but the Doctors report more favourably of him to-day;—he is staying up in the pagoda with M——. We still have some of the enemy lurking about the camp, and hardly a night passes that a shot or two from the (our) sentries is not heard; but they may not see Burmans. On the night of the 1st the enemy attacked the wing of the 35th M. N. I., under Major Brett, at the creek, about a mile and a half from this. It can hardly be called an attack, however, as they only made a rush at the sentries, and first wounded, and then cut off the head of one man, and wounded the other, who fell back on his picquet; the latter turned out, and must have left their tent for a few minutes unprotected (whilst driving off the enemy), for on

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their return to it they found their bedding gone ! ! They played the same trick to a guard in the last war. On the 2d the General took a Company of the 18th in the *Medusa* to reconnoitre down the river, (a few miles below this,) where we had seen for some time past a sort of breast-work round a small pagoda ; they landed, and the enemy fled a short distance, turning into the jungle, and fired at our people from behind trees ; our party followed them up about a mile and a half, and came in sight of rather a strong-looking stockade, which the General did not attack, not having sufficient men. The Burmese followed our men back to the river's banks, firing there at them, and calling on them to come on ! They only hit one of the *Medusa's* Artillerymen. One or two of the 18th had a *coup de soleil.* Before leaving we burnt the breast-work, &c. at the pagoda. The next day some Sappers and a Company of the 80th went there again, brought away some timber, and burnt some more of the defences; they were again fired on—none hit. Jungle rapidly disappearing round Prome. We have now two guns on the heights, and two more placed last night on a bit of rising ground some 500 yards in advance of the pagoda, towards Euthāy-Mew. The Sappers are to throw up a breastwork round it to strengthen the position.

We wish General Godwin to come, or give Sir John leave to thrash the fellows, that we may get supplies, &c.; but we do manage to get *fresh* beef nearly every day, and a few vegetables ! ! Bread and milk at last !

The water of Prome destroys the hair !—the same effect on it as salt water. [On hearing this Colonel A—— replied in his usual way that a pair of scissors was the best recipe for beautifying the hair, to crop close, and there

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is no fear of it!] A party reported to be going by land to join us here (Prome) *via* Tonghoo?—is it settled? A cut-throat circle of society this! I really think we shall be lucky if all here get through the next three or four months with a head on our shoulders;—the Burmese appear to relish head-hunting quite as much as the Dyaks in Borneo.

9th November.

On the night of the 5th the 35th had another attack. There is an old fellow in a stockade on the opposite bank of the river who has amused himself firing blank cartridges at us most days since our arrival, called by the men *Smoky Jack!* His days are numbered, as I believe he is to be burned out by the Navy in a day or two—I have heard to-morrow, (10th). Some steamers have just come in,—so off!

PROME, *6th November* 1852.

The horses arrived safe and sound on the 31st of last month,—men also were all well, with the exception of a gunner who had an attack of cholera. Major F—— is looking well, and all the Officers are as well as can be expected when living on salt junk and a stray fowl now and then. Musquitoes plentiful first day on board; there are none here, at least where we live. The steps up the pagoda are a great deal worse to ascend than the Rangoon stairs, and when you do get up, you see a nasty ugly little pagoda! Two sailors died of cholera on the way thither. *The water here is filthy*, and the weather very hot, however it is getting cooler now. The Burmese attack us *every night!* Their object seems rather to kill and decapitate sentries than to drive in picquets. When

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I say they attack us every night, I mean at one particular point, viz.—a picquet of the 35th M. N. I., under the command of Major Brett. A guard of Artillery go there every day to take care of a rocket-tube and a 3-pounder. This said 3-pounder has no elevating screw, so when they are going to fire it they place a bamboo under the breech, and having given the *requisite* elevation hold it till the gun is fired. Last night the Burmese attacked this post, and the Artillery guard were requested to volunteer as skirmishers, and lead on the gallant 35th. All volunteered, so one man was left, with a conductor, to take care of the rockets; and off the others went. The corporal in charge of our guard said the Burmese did not fire on them; a havildar and private of the 35th however were returned as wounded. There is a great deal of cholera here, and we have lost several drivers. Captain R—— has been very ill of diarrhœa. A great number of the 80th got cholera at a place they were then quartered at; and some days after two bodies floated in a well they had been drinking from. The place was called the "King's Monastery;" now it is destroyed, the Burmese having set fire to it. The *Medusa* returned from a place about 20 miles down from this (Akouk-toung) yesterday. This place is a high hill or rock,* rising almost perpendicularly from the river. On the top of this they captured four 18-pounders and two long 9-pounders in position, with plenty of shot. This battery would have sunk any steamer coming up the river. A Chief of some village led the party so as to take the Burmese in flank; 9 of our men were killed. A grass-cutter has just been taken by the Burmese; he was cutting close by a dense jungle, when two men rushed out and forced him off.

* About 400 feet high.

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[The destruction of the Royal Monastery, mentioned in the foregoing extract, "is much to be deplored; it was one of the most magnificent to be seen out of Ava, and was built of the very finest teak, in the most substantial manner, and most elaborately carved. It was 500 feet long, 200 broad, and 150 in height."—*Friend of India.* We heard this beautiful building much praised by all who had seen it. Many of the religious buildings in Burmah might easily stand comparison, in point of beauty and comfort, with some of the best in Europe.]

PROME, 30*th November* 1852.

Well here we are, with November all but over, and the General not yet up, nor has he allowed us to do the work for him. We have had a little excitement lately in the shape of a skirmish near and at Akouk-toung; of course ere this you have heard all about it, and of the death of poor Gardner at the latter place. He was more in advance of his men than he ought to have been, to say nothing of the road he took. It now appears there was a regular ambush laid for this party, and large stones placed, overhanging the path, ready to be thrown down on them; besides this a jingal pointed down it, which took so fatal an effect on poor Gardner and the havildar. On the 25th instant the Burmese carried off from here Mr Q——, one of R——'s conductors. It appears he had been in the habit of walking out by himself, glass in hand, some distance from the camp, and that he had been heard to express his belief that the Burmese were not near this; probably by this time he has changed his opinion. The day he was taken he was nearly two miles on the Euthāy-Mew road, and had got up a tree to look about him when

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he was surrounded by some of the enemy; they threw stones at him, and he came down, and it is said foolishly kicked one fellow, who immediately gave him a stroke over the eye with a dāh, and then they carried him off! We have heard of him since, and from his conduct I think he must be an eccentric character; for a day or two ago when they offered him some rice to eat he kicked it, and the chatty or platter containing it, to a place that is not fit for ears polite,—at least that is the interpretation put upon the spy's information regarding him. I suppose he is now on his way to Ava. One of the 18th R. I., sent with the party to Akouk-toung under Colonel Handscomb * and Captain Loch, R. N., wandered from the camp at night, and has not been found since; he is said to be moon-blind, so the poor fellow was doubtless easily taken by the enemy. They had a pretty sharp affair at Padoung-Mew, and killed a number of the enemy; our loss was two of the 18th badly, and one slightly wounded. An apothecary of the 18th lost his arm, and C—— of the Engineers got an ugly blow in the back from a splinter of a jingal which he was trying to burst. Captain Loch had a narrow escape as he rushed at a Burman about to mount a pony, and they had a struggle; the Burman got hold of Loch's jacket which he slipped out of, and pulled out as he thought his revolver, which snapped three or four times; finding it would not go off he looked at it and found he had left the chambers, or some part of the pistol in his belt, (so much for revolvers,) and in a moment more the Burman would have killed him had not a man of the 18th put his bayonet into him at that moment. We have not had so much firing at night lately, owing to the moon being well up.

* 40th B. N. I.

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Yesterday (29th,) a party of Burmans fired at M—— of the Sappers, whilst he was out road-making, but luckily missed him; the ball struck a dāh close to him, and then grazed a coolie's leg. He picked up the ball and found it "*rifled,*" so I expect we shall hear soon they have a supply of Colt's pistols! Minié's! and Prussian Needle-guns!

We are all pretty well here, *i. e.* the Officers; but a good many of our men are sick. We have 32 off duty, which is a large proportion for our Artillery Detachment. The 18th and 80th are losing a good number of men, and have a great number in hospital; fever and dysentery are the principal diseases. A few days after my last to you poor Captain R——, died, which you have doubtless long ere this heard. D——, who I believe goes on sick-certificate, has had cholera; he is much reduced and the sooner he gets out of Burmah the better; several Officers go on sick leave by this or an early opportunity, which shews that Prome is not quite as healthy as some have said, although I think it a better climate than that of Rangoon.

1*st December.*

The Commodore came in last night on board the *Damooda,* but has brought no letters from any one at Rangoon; but I hear R—— is close, and may be expected to-day or to-morrow, and I dare say he has all our letters; at least I hope so. I hear that we may expect to see the General in ten days. The *Friend of India* is very severe on the last Despatch, and justly so I think.

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APPENDIX VII.

PEGU.*

Pegu, *(Wednesday) 24th November* 1852.

The old wall here is about a mile and a-half long and 50 feet high, all ruins, and covered with jungle. The moat is swampy, about 150 yards wide. The river is only 100 yards wide and can be walked across at low water. The *Mahanuddy* stuck on Saturday (20th), so about 8 P. M. we were taken in boats to the *Bentinck*, and slept there; next morning landed and had the guns put together before 7. Mine was just ready, and a gunner was clearing the vent when the wire broke short off. At this the General was annoyed, and I started for another howitzer from the *Damooda*. By this time the troops were advancing, and some Burmese were up in the trees firing at us in the boat. Much to my disgust, just as I was getting the howitzer a message came to say that the vent was clear, so I pulled back and ran after it, and found them by what seemed a swamp, in front of high jungle, but this in reality was the old wall of Pegu with a wide moat. The bullets were coming thick out of this, but we could only hear them, and now

* From an Artillery Officer present.

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and then see a puff, but no Burmans. I fired two rounds of grape, one flanking the wall and the other right into it, as we thought it was only jungle. Their firing did not appear to be at us but at the Fusiliers on our left,—there was a great gap between us and the advanced column,—of course they got fired at heavily from the top of the wall, which the Burmese had cleared, and made little breastworks for jingals and guns in different places. The advance consisted of 150 Madras Fusiliers, 100 Bengal, and the Rifles of the 5th. One of these was wounded and left behind, and by the time we came up his head was gone. A wounded Officer saw four Burmese cut it off, and they were just coming to him when some Europeans came through the long grass and they vanished. We got along very well, as the bullocks were in good condition. The road was just along the edge of the moat, and appeared to have been *pucka*,* but in many places was quite destroyed, and the whole was covered with long grass four or five feet high, and so was the large plain on our right. The advance crossed the moat and charged through a narrow gap in the wall into a stockade, where they had two guns, the Burmese of course making off, except one fellow who was shot through the nose. We halted under the shade of some bamboos, as guns could not get through this gap, and then the troops marched along the top of the old wall to the old gateway, which was carefully blocked up with bamboos and thorns. They burnt some houses and came back. This was about one o'clock, and after a little they again advanced to the pagoda. Only one volley was fired as they were at the bottom of the steps, and by the time they were at the top the place was clear, and the Burmese

* *i. e.* Of good material.

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melted away through the north and east gates, and are supposed to be off to Sitang. There were about 150 horse, or rather pony-men, one of whom was shot turning a corner; but the men were too much out of breath to be able to take good shots. Well, it was all over by 3 o'clock P.M., and we were ordered to march back to the landing-place, where we left the guns, and slept on board the *Bentinck* again. On Monday, at one o'clock P.M., we landed, and started with the guns along the west face of the old wall and got up to the pagoda. They evidently expected us to attack this face, as there were little breast-works everywhere, and along the road were gates, and parapets by the sides. The pagoda is not so large as the Rangoon one; it looks very old and dirty; it is surrounded at the base by two terraces of little pagodas. The space enclosed by the old wall is all jungle, and in the morning the mist makes it look like a great tank. The terraces are very low. We hear there are 1,500 men about six miles from this, who prevent villagers from coming in; the others are off to Sitang and Beling. I am living in the south temple, corresponding to my temple at Rangoon. There are no covered gateways, but long houses, with about 30 images on each side of the stairs, which make capital barracks. We mess in the east temple on rations, sardines, &c.; a bottle of beer a day as yet. I have lost nearly all my kit, and have no money. We have only seven rounds of grape, and can't get any for some time. Well I must finish now.

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APPENDIX VIII.

PEGU DESPATCHES, ETC.

Major-General H. GODWIN, C.B., Commanding the Forces in Ava, Arracan, and Tenasserim Provinces, to C. ALLEN, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

Pegu, December 15, 1852.

SIR,—IN continuation of my Despatch of the 11th instant from Rangoon, I have the satisfaction to state for the information of the Governor-General in Council, that the garrison I left at this place was relieved from its investment by the Burmese on my arrival here yesterday at one o'clock. The strength of the enemy, added to their formidable position, the very small garrison, and its falling short of ammunition, though strongly posted and with a large supply of provisions, caused me very great anxiety.

At 9 o'clock on the night of the 11th instant 1,200 men were embarked at Rangoon in two steamers and a number of boats, and were disembarked about six miles below the Ghaut, at Pegu, on the morning of the 14th instant, and the whole ready to move off their ground by sunrise.

I had resolved to march and enter the pagoda by the eastern gate. The last time I was here I did so by the southern gate, at its capture, because the enemy from

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Shoé-Gyne had marched from the east and established their batteries on that face of the pagoda. This turned all their defences, and their works on and from the banks of the river and round the pagoda, and this move brought me directly on their rear, only having to drive in numbers of well-conducted skirmishers, and a force of about 200 men on ponies, which hung on the right flank of the column during its march; against whom however I hardly returned a shot.

Three miles from the pagoda I passed a gun-carriage burning, which told me what I apprehended was the case, that finding themselves between two fires—the pagoda and my own—and their defences useless, I should find they had retired; and on coming close to the rear of their defences, and pushing on the advance, we met only a large body of skirmishers, who were gallantly repulsed by some of the Bengal and Madras Fusiliers and the Sikhs.

The march through such a close country, without a road, was well got over. I had with me two guns from the Navy boats, drawn by a party of sailors under Commander Shadwell, whose excessive labours were most cheerfully borne.

Our loss has been three killed and nine wounded, as they had no chance of injuring us seriously. The Burmese will fight if you take your people up to the muzzle of their guns, but wisely retire when they find they are morally beaten, as they have been in this war.

They have hidden their guns; two only have been found as yet; but in the thick grass jungle a gun is easily hidden.

I have had the aid of Brigadier-General Steel, who particularly requested to accompany me.

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It was a hard day's work for all, but well accomplished; and I know few moments that have been more gratifying to me than when I met that excellent and brave Officer Major Hill of the Madras Fusiliers in the pagoda.

His report cannot be prepared to-day, for there are details respecting the admirable conduct of the Peguers whose families came under his protection, and he has wonderfully managed to save them.

I have come the second time to Pegu with the full intention of going onwards, as ten miles from this, at a place called Lephangoon, on the road to Shoé-Gyne, there are the Pegu families in bond at a Burman station there, held for the fidelity of their husbands in the Burmese ranks, which I hope to release to-morrow; at all events to follow the force that has been troubling this country, and break it up; but I cannot state how far I can go, as the progress of all soldiers depends upon feeding them, which can never be left to accident.

I have found more carriage than I expected here, which will assist us very much.

I have ordered a land column, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sturt of the 67th Bengal N. I., to march on the right bank of the river—where I have been informed there is a good hackery road to Pegu—consisting of half the Madras Horse Artillery, 50 of the Ramghur Horse, and 400 of the 67th Bengal N. I., but with instructions if he should meet with any serious difficulty to return; and I hope to have them up at Lephangoon.

I expect soon to furnish the Government with a detailed account of the proceedings of this army.

Commodore Lambert has a steamer ready to convey this Despatch on its arrival at Rangoon. I have, &c.

(Signed) H. Godwin, Major-General.

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His Excellency G. R. LAMBERT, R. N., Commodore First Class, Commander-in-Chief, to C. ALLEN, Esq.

Rangoon, December 18, 1852.

SIR,—I have the honor to request you may be pleased to inform the Governor-General of India in Council that shortly after my return from Prome on the 6th instant I learned that a large flat, which the Military authorities had sent up to Pegu, laden with commissariat stores and bullocks, under charge of 24 Sepoys, had been attacked and burnt by the Burmese. A havildar and three of the men being killed, the remainder had by some means reached Pegu with the loss of their arms and accoutrements.

2. Considering it desirable to keep open a communication with the garrison at Pegu, and being anxious to ascertain the true state of things, I sent Commander Shadwell, of Her Majesty's ship *Sphinx*, with the boats of the squadron specified in Enclosure A, on the 8th instant, on that service.

3. The day after his departure a letter was brought to Rangoon by a friendly Burman, who found the greatest difficulty in escaping from Pegu. Major Hill stated he was surrounded on all sides, and hardly pressed, and that his ammunition was getting very short. On receipt of this intelligence Major-General Godwin decided to send 200 European troops to Pegu, and they embarked in the *Nerbudda*, and left the same evening in company with a force of armed boats from the squadron, under command of Commander Rowley Lambert.

4. On the 11th Commander Shadwell returned from Pegu, having failed to communicate with the garrison.

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On reaching the usual landing-place he was received by the enemy with a heavy fire, and on landing he found the Burmese too numerous to contend with. He therefore deemed it prudent to retreat, having in a very short time had four men killed and 28 wounded, amongst the latter two Officers severely, and his coxswain was shot dead by his side. A return of the casualties on this occasion is enclosed, marked B.

5. On his return he met the *Nerbudda*, but being quite uncertain as to the extent of the force he would be exposed to, he determined to bring them back.

6. I immediately consulted with Major-General Godwin, who determined to go himself to Pegu with a considerable force, and I appropriated for this service the *Mahanuddy* and *Nerbudda* steamers, and a number of native cargo-boats, the long-boats of the transports, and the boats of the squadron.

7. Before 10 o'clock that night Captain Tarleton had embarked 1,050 men, composing the land force, in the boats, and left Rangoon for Pegu. The armed force under his command, belonging to the squadron, is detailed in Enclosure C.

8. The steam-vessels *Mahanuddy* and *Nerbudda* had both been disabled, but through the activity and ability of Mr Berry, the superintending Engineer, they were temporarily repaired; and Major-General Godwin having embarked with 400 more Europeans in these vessels, started next morning.

9. A land force, under Colonel Sturt of the 67th Regiment B. N. I., also marched for Pegu, leaving Rangoon on the morning of the 13th.

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10. I will now refer his Lordship in Council to Captain Tarleton's letter of the 16th instant, for details of the Naval operations at Pegu.

11. I fully coincide with the encomiums expressed by Captain Tarleton respecting the Officers and seamen of this squadron serving under his orders, who on this occasion have been actuated by the same gallant and cheerful spirit to fulfil their duty that they have displayed throughout the war. I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE R. LAMBERT.

A.

MEMORANDUM shewing the Force of the Expedition to PEGU.

H. M. S. Sphinx.

Boat.—Commander Shadwell,—four men.

Starboard Paddle-box Boat.—One 24-pounder howitzer; Mr Edgar Cookson, Midshipman,—15 men, 6 marines.

Port Paddle-box Boat.—One 24-pounder howitzer; Mr Arthur Morphy, Master's Assistant; Mr John F. Johnson, Assistant Surgeon,—15 men.

H. M. S. Fox.

Pinnace.—One 12-pounder howitzer; Lieutenant Mason; Mr Hudson, Midshipman,—15 men, 6 marines.

Barge.—One 12-pounder howitzer; Mr Pocock, mate; Lieutenant Nightingale, R. M.,—13 men, 6 marines.

E. I. C. S. Moozuffer.

Paddle-box Boat. No. 1,—One 12-pounder howitzer; Lieutenant Robinson, I. N.; the Boatswain,—21 men.

Paddle-box Boat, No. 2.—One 12-pounder howitzer; Mr Templar, Midshipman; an Apothecary,—20 men.

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TOTAL.—133 Officers and men, accompanied by Captain Mallock, Bengal Artillery, and 12 Artillerymen in two cargo boats.

(Signed) CHARLES F. A. SHADWELL, Commander.

B.

LIST of KILLED and WOUNDED at PEGU, 10*th December* 1852.

H. M. S. Fox.

Mr C. A. B. Pocock, mate, wounded, severely.

James Tilman, A. B., wounded, severely.

John Jones, A. B., wounded, severely.

Michael M'Avoy, ordinary, wounded, dangerously.

Thomas Christian, marine, wounded, dangerously, since dead.

William Tucker, marine, wounded, dangerously, since dead.

Henry Budd, marine, wounded, severely.

Walter Bell, marine, wounded, slightly.

Charles Smith, marine, wounded, slightly.

H. M. S. Sphinx.

Mr W. E. Cookson, Midshipman, wounded, very severely.

Thomas Davis, gunner's mate, killed.

William Mitchell, Captain foretop, wounded, slightly.

James Blanch, Captain maintop, wounded, slightly.

Stephen Collison, stoker, killed.

John Stephens, gunner, R. M. Artillery, wounded, severely.

E. I. C. S. Moozuffer.

John Willis, A.B., wounded, very severely, since dead.

John Asboin, gunner, B. Artillery, wounded, severely.

Thomas MacKissick, A.B., wounded, severely.

William Robinson, A.B., wounded, severely.

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James Pearson, gunner's mate, wounded, severely.
Daniel Watson, A.B., wounded, slightly.
Joseph Fraser, A.B., wounded, slightly.
John Barnsley, gunner, B. Artillery, wounded, slightly.
John Bence, A.B., wounded, slightly.
William Brown, A.B., wounded, slightly.
A Burmese boatman very severely, in the convoy.

(Signed) JOHN F. JOHNSON, R.N.,
Assistant-Surgeon, H. M. S. *Sphinx*.

In addition to the above, the detachment of Artillery serving with the Naval force sustained the following loss :—

1 sergeant, 1 gunner, killed; 1 bugler, 1 gunner, severely wounded; 2 gunners slightly wounded.

Total 32.—Of these, killed in action, 4; wounded in action, 28; since dead, 3.

(Signed) J. F. JOHNSON.

C.

MEMORANDUM of the NAVAL FORCE employed at PEGU.

Boats of H. M. S. *Fox*, manned and armed.

Captain Tarleton, in command.
Commander R. Lambert.
Lieutenant W. B. Mason.
Mr R. Sturgess, second master.
Mr T. Seccombe, assistant-surgeon.
Mr Villiers, midshipman.
Mr Rason, midshipman.

Boats of *Sphinx*, manned and armed.

Mr Augustus H. Webb, midshipman.
Mr Arthur Morphy, master's assistant.

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Boats of *Moozuffer*, manned and armed.
Mr Freeman, master.
Mr Templar, midshipman.

Boats of *Berenice*, manned and armed.
Mr Mannerly, master.

E. I. C. S. V. Fire Queen's paddle-box boats.

GUN PARTY.

Commander Charles F. A. Shadwell, R.N., *Sphinx*.
Lieutenant Robinson, I.N., *Moozuffer*.
Mr J. S. Hudson, midshipman, *Fox*.
Mr A. A. Smith, midshipman, *Sphinx*.
Mr Dawkins, midshipman, *Moozuffer*.

(Signed) J. W. TARLETON, Captain.

Captain J. W. TARLETON, to His Excellency Commodore G. R. LAMBERT.

H. M.'s ship FOX'S *Gig, in the Pegu River, December* 16, 1852.

SIR, — I have the honor to inform your Excellency that in pursuance of your instructions at 2 P. M. of the 11th, that 1,400 men, under the command of Major-General Godwin, C.B., should be embarked with the greatest despatch for Pegu, and placing Commanders Shadwell and Lambert under my orders, I put myself in communication with the Quartermaster-General's Department, and after ascertaining the number of native boats that could be supplied for the conveyance of troops, stores, and provisions, with Commander Lambert's assistance I embarked 1,050 men in the boats, and left Rangoon at 11 P. M., leaving Commander Shadwell to follow in the steamer with Major-General Godwin and the remainder of the troops.

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I proceeded with the boats up the Pegu river, and about 2 P.M. on the 12th, when about two-thirds of the distance, I had the satisfaction of communicating with the Major-General on board the *Nerbudda*, and to observe the *Mahanuddy* following; the former vessel preceded us up the river. At the end of the flood-tide, at 8 P.M., the boats were anchored within hail of the steamer, 12 miles below Pegu. On the morning of the 13th, the *Nerbudda* leading, I proceeded with the boats, and happily arrived so as to be able to effect a simultaneous landing of the troops about five miles below Pegu, and half a mile from the first stockade, at 7 A.M. The *Mahanuddy* not appearing, and the General having expressed his intention to me of waiting the arrival of the troops on board her before he advanced, I proceeded in the *Nerbudda* to bring them up. I found the *Mahanuddy* where we had anchored on the previous evening, she having been detained by her broken rudder-head. I immediately transferred the troops to the *Nerbudda*, but by this time the water had fallen so much that she was compelled to wait for the flood-tide to proceed, and did not reach the place of disembarkation till 9 P.M. The troops were landed from her at 4 A.M. on the 14th, and at 7 the army advanced.

I appointed Commander Shadwell to take command of two of the boats' guns fitted as field-pieces, with 75 men to drag them, to accompany the force. Commander Lambert assisted me in the protection of the steamer and boats.

At noon some of the camp-followers, having straggled a short distance from the bank, were fired at from a Poonghee-house in our vicinity; two were taken, and the others pursued by the enemy, who evinced an intention of coming

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down to attack us. I immediately landed all the disposable men, leaving only sufficient to work the guns in the boats. This demonstration, and the fire of a few shells and rockets, served to check their advance. At this time the *Nerbudda*, on the falling tide, had unfortunately grounded on a stake, and her two foremost compartments filled with water. It became necessary to put her on shore to repair the damage. To move from our position was therefore impossible, and I proceeded to strengthen it by landing some rockets, felling trees, and throwing up intrenchments. The march of the army to the eastward of the pagoda had left the enemy in possession of the lower defences on the river's bank, and I was sensible that he had it in his power greatly to annoy us. He reconnoitred our position with a few horse in the evening, but did not further molest us. At 2 P.M. I had the satisfaction of observing the preconcerted signal that the army had forced its way into the pagoda, which intelligence was confirmed to me by Commander Shadwell on the morning of the 15th.

In the evening this Officer returned with his party of seamen and a guard. He informed me of the river bank being cleared of the enemy; and it is therefore my intention to move up with the boats with the morning flood-tide. I reconnoitred the river defences now evacuated, and am only surprised that Commander Shadwell should have been able to pass and repass them in his late attempt to communicate with the garrison at Pegu. They are, for the purpose, of the most formidable description, and completely command the passage of the river for a distance of nearly five miles.

Your Excellency, knowing the nature of the service that has been performed, will appreciate the zeal of both

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Officers and men who have carried it out; but I feel I shall fail in my duty to them if I did not bring to your notice the exertions made by Commander Shadwell and the men under him, in taking the guns a distance of eight or nine miles through a difficult country, under an ardent sun; by Commander Lambert and Lieutenant Mason, R. N., and Robinson, I. N., and Mr Freeman, Master, I. N., in their constant attention and watchfulness in bringing up so large a convoy in the boats. Lieutenant Robinson was afterwards attached to the gun party, and Mr Freeman was most useful to me in directing our rocket battery and in the construction of our intrenchments. I exceedingly admire the skilful manner in which Captain Porter brought the *Nerbudda* up this difficult river; and the energy that his Officers and crew displayed in making her again effective was most praiseworthy.

I am happy to say that only one casualty has occurred on the part of the Naval force,—Thomas Saunders, A.B., of Her Majesty's steam-sloop *Sphinx*, who died of a wound he received while encamped with the army on the evening of the 13th instant. I have, &c.

(Signed) J. W. TARLETON, Captain.

NOTIFICATION.

No. 18.

Fort-William, Foreign Department, the 4th January 1853.

The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that the following Extracts from De-

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spatches relative to recent operations in the neighbourhood of Pegu shall be published for general information.

The Governor-General in Council has to express his approbation of the alacrity and spirit with which this harassing duty has been performed, and his sense of the services of the Major-General commanding, and of the Officers whose names he has specially brought to the notice of his Lordship in Council in the Despatch of the 24th ultimo.

The Governor-General in Council particularly desires to record his high approbation of the gallant conduct of Major Hill of the Madras Fusiliers, and of the Officers and men under his command, in their defence of the position they held at Pegu.

By order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council,

(Signed) C. ALLEN, Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

No. 22.

Extract from a Despatch from Major-General GODWIN, C. B., commanding Troops in Ava, Arracan, and Tenasserim Provinces, dated 24*th December* 1852.

In my last Despatch from Pegu, dated the 15th instant, after having relieved it from the enemy, I had the honour of informing you, for the information of the Governor-General in Council, that it was my intention to advance into the country, and free that garrison from the near position of the Burmese army.

At that time I had been informed they were at Lephangoon, but from subsequent information I found them en-

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trenched and entrenching themselves in great numbers on a plain about four miles north of the pagoda, at a place called Kaleetat. It took till the 17th instant to procure what little carriage was available for the Commissariat stores, when 18 buffalo hackeries were prepared to contain six days' provisions.

The troops left the pagoda about 7 o'clock A.M. on that date, to the amount of about 1,200 men, consisting of about 600 of the Bengal Fusiliers under Lieutenant-Colonel Tudor; 150 of the Madras Fusiliers under Captain Renaud; 300 Sikhs under Major Armstrong; and 160 of the 10th Bengal Native Infantry under Captain Munro. I had no guns, for I had no means of drawing them. We had to pass through a very thick jungle for about two miles, when we debouched on a noble plain, miles in extent, covered with ripe paddy. We then had a good view of the position of the enemy, and their probable numbers. They were admirably posted behind an entrenchment, with abattie; large spars formed their breastwork, and it appeared to be about a mile long, filled with masses of men, a few hundreds of the Cassay horse, some elephants, and a few guns.

It was from this post that the men were furnished to invest our garrison at Pegu. From my force I had to give a baggage-guard of 200 men; with the remainder I quietly advanced on their position, inclining to my own right to threaten their left, which was open,—their right being supported by a large tope of trees, and flanked by a thick jungle. They fired a gun occasionally as we advanced, and from their quiet and determined attitude behind their strong defences, with at least ten men for one of mine, I had great expectation that they would

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stand our assault. These men were from the garrisons of Shoé-Gyne, Sitang, and Beling,—had been very active in giving constant alarms to Martaban and Moulmein,—and had the character too of being men who would fight, some of their companions having been killed on the walls in the assaults on Pegu.

When I was within about 400 yards of their position I detached 200 men of the Bengal Fusiliers, under Major Seaton, to drive in two outposts in front of the right of their position, for I changed my mind and determined to attack them upon their right, in the hope of our meeting. Major Seaton very soon performed this service, the enemy retiring upon their main entrenchments, exchanging musketry.

I now formed the columns of attack, Major Seaton's party of the Bengal Fusiliers, and Major Armstrong with his Sikhs to attack the tope, with two companies of the Bengal Fusiliers under Lieutenant Lambert, but attached to Major Armstrong's column.

I stopped Major Seaton's attack, seeing that they had loaded the jungle, which his left flank would have had to pass in gaining the tope, with hundreds of men.

I had strong reserves close up and ready to assist in the assault. It was a very interesting sight to see our little columns moving up to the attack of this host of people so strongly posted, and in a plain where every object was visible. I was so confident we should get in amongst them that when the smoke cleared away after the impetuosity of the attack, it was like magic their escaping us. The Sikhs at the tope were like lightning at them, and Lieutenant Lambert, who had thrown his column in the very flank of the long entrenchment, close to the tope,

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would have prevented their firing except on each other; and I believe the rapidity with which the advance closed upon them threw them off all guard, and they considered flight their only safety.

After the action the troops rested in the shade of the tope for an hour; we then proceeded on to Lephangoon, a distance of 10 miles, which we reached at half-past 4 P.M., marching altogether about 14 miles. This is the largest and finest village I have seen in the country, with a great many excellent farm-houses in it; it stands on both sides of the river, which is here fordable, and is surrounded by fine plains covered with grain.

We were aware that the enemy had retreated on this village, but they left it on our approach, and the force found good quarters for the night.

The village was totally abandoned; not a soul was seen, nor grain to be found in it, which I had trusted to for the followers; so they fell back on the Commissariat, which I could with difficulty spare them, and this, added to the breaking down of one of our carts with beef and biscuit, crippled me much.

The next day, the 18th instant, we marched to Montsanganoo, 10 miles, where we arrived about 12 o'clock noon; there the enemy had passed the night. It is an inconsiderable village, and we were in bivouac.

About 3 o'clock P.M. I was informed that some of the enemy were hovering about, who I believed were only observing us, but shortly they came down in large masses, and formed in a line about two miles in our front.

Our men were soon under arms, and I marched towards them in two separate columns, of an equal division of the force under my command. Brigadier-General Steel took

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charge of the left column, and Lieutenant-Colonel Tudor the right. Skirmishers were thrown out on both sides, but as we advanced they retired for about two miles further, when they took up an alignment close to a long range of barracks which they had evidently occupied on different occasions. The two columns threw out advanced parties for attack, but as we neared them they again retired, leaving the barracks in our possession. It was now nearly dark, and as they appeared to be going away altogether we burnt their barracks and retired to our bivouac, three miles, where our baggage and followers had remained under a strong guard.

The next day, the 19th instant, on inquiry into the state of the Commissariat, I found I had not quite three days' provisions left, and very deficient in some articles, and it became imperative on me to return to Pegu, which I did that day. Had I had the means of carrying with me 12 days' provisions I would have pursued them over the Sitang River, but I am sadly crippled everywhere for want of carriage, except at Rangoon, where I do not require it.

I propose to detach Brigadier-General Steel with a force to Moulmein—where he will find every description of carriage in abundance for tents and *materiel* of all kinds—to proceed to Beling, Shoé-Gyne, and Sitang, and crossing that river to return by Pegu to Rangoon, as he may deem practicable, which may force this army north towards Prome, which it must I think, as it cannot go to Pegu, and which will be the best course for us it can take.

I embarked at Pegu on the 20th, and arrived on the morning of the 22d, leaving a reinforcement with the

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garrison at Pegu, and strengthening their party of Sappers as a temporary measure, to allow of their putting themselves in a perfect state of defence.

Now, Sir, I have to ask the estimation of the Governor-General in Council for a service that has been most harassing and arduous, and for which no force ever took the field so little prepared, but which was borne with a cheerfulness and alacrity—where the least chance of a contest with the enemy presented itself—that was enthusiastic, and which confers the highest honour on the whole force.

To Brigadier-General Steel I am most obliged for the warmest co-operation throughout this service.

To Brigadier Dickenson, who was ever ready and anxious to render me his able assistance.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Tudor, who was very often called upon with his regiment, the Bengal Fusiliers, to give parties for assaults; and on the day of my relieving the garrison of Pegu I detached the Lieutenant-Colonel to clear the road communicating with the landing-place on the river. The Lieutenant-Colonel performed this duty most effectually under a heavy fire.

To Captain Latter, my Interpreter, who had the guides always under his charge, and who was present everywhere with his usual gallantry.

To Major Armstrong, with his Sikhs, conspicuous wherever they were called upon.

To Majors Gerrard and Seaton of the Bengal Fusiliers; Captain Renaud, commanding a detachment of the Madras Fusiliers; Captain Munro, commanding a detachment of the 10th Bengal N. I.; Captain Hawkes, Brigade Major; Lieutenant Lambert of the Bengal Fusiliers; Lieutenant

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Elliott of the Madras Fusiliers, and Lieutenant Harris of the Sappers, who rendered important assistance, I am much indebted.

The General Staff,—Major Mayhew, Deputy Adjutant-General, and Captain Hamilton, Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Burne, Military Secretary, and Captain Chads, Aide-de-Camp, I warmly thank; as also Major Neill, Assistant Adjutant-General, and Major Atkinson, Assistant Quartermaster-General, Madras Division, and Captains Dallas and Travers, Aides-de-Camp on the Staff of Brigadier-General Steel, for their uncommon exertions during this service.

To Surgeons M'Cosh and Balfour, and the Medical Department, the Service is much indebted.

The short interval between the time I received the intelligence of the investment of Pegu from Captains Tarleton and Shadwell, and the embarkation of the troops the same evening, when by 9 o'clock P. M. 1,400 men, with their *materiel*, were sent on board, under the eye of that valuable Officer Captain Tarleton of the Royal Navy, till its disembarkation near Pegu, and its re-embarkation on return here, was marked by wonderful exertion and arrangement; and that, with the aid and assistance I received from him with the men-of-war's boats, calls for every acknowledgment.

To Captain Shadwell I also feel greatly indebted for his assistance and exertions on this occasion.

I forward to the Governor-General in Council the detailed account of the investment of Pegu by the Burmese Army, and the noble defence made by Major Hill and his brave garrison, for the Government to select what, in its wisdom, it may think proper to publish.

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I have this morning received the gratifying information from Major Hill that some thousand families are coming in, and which I hope in a future Despatch to confirm positively. It is my intention to proceed to Prome in three days, and to take the field immediately. I am happy to say that the general health of the troops here, as well as their conduct, is very satisfactory.

Extract from a Letter from Major HILL to Major MAYHEW, dated 18*th December* 1852.

A termination to unremitting assaults from the enemy from the 5th to the 14th instant having been brought about by the arrival of a reinforcement of troops under the personal command of Major-General Godwin, Commanding the Forces, I am now enabled to place before the Major-General a detailed report of the operations during that period.

I do myself the honour to report, for the Major-General's information, that for some days previous to the enemy appearing in our vicinity several of their advanced posts were seen within two miles of us, in a northerly direction. Elephants and gold umbrellas plainly indicated that their main army was not far off; and as I had been informed that Moung-Kyouk-Loung commanded 10,000 men at Shoé-Gyne, I felt it necessary to keep the garrison alert, in case that portion of his force, which was then so near us, might make a sudden descent upon the garrison.

Shortly after 8 o'clock on the night of the 5th instant, a few shots were fired by our sentries, which were answered by the enemy, and soon the firing became general. After 11 o'clock, as the moon rose, the fire slackened and gradu-

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ally ceased. Large bodies of infantry were seen the next morning from the elevated post of the pagoda moving in different directions, and from 150 to 200 Cassay horsemen, and by half-past 9 o'clock A. M. a very heavy fire was opened upon the south-west angle of the pagoda, immediately adjoining which I had stockaded in about 2,000 Peguers with their families.

On the 3d instant I was informed that for some distance to the southward and eastward a very large number of carts were approaching the pagoda, and by sunset 216, filled mostly with women and children, besides a great many men, arrived and claimed British protection: I felt this to be a greater charge than defending the garrison, having perfect confidence in the troops; I resolved therefore on the following morning to draw the whole of the Peguers into a compact body under the walls of the pagoda. Working parties from all the European and Native troops in the garrison, with the Officers, besides every disposable public follower, were ready by 6 o'clock the following morning to clear away a tope of large trees for their accommodation. Every one worked with such hearty good-will that by mid-day every tree was felled, and the Sappers were in readiness, with the assistance of the Peguers, to make a stockade. By night-fall two sides of the stockades were completed, and the greater portion of the bandies brought within it, thus enabling the families to have both food and shelter in their carts.

The enemy having taken up their position round us, never left it until the day on which General Godwin relieved the garrison. I believe I am speaking within bounds when I say there must have been fully 6,000 men regularly employed in investing the pagoda, from the space

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they covered; and so near did they find safe cover from our fire, that it became the more necessary to preserve the greatest vigilance to prevent surprise at any time they wished to attempt it; their attacks were chiefly directed against the Peguers, and on the night of the 8th a very spirited and well kept up assault was made upon them for about two hours.

Night after night gongs were sounding in different parts of the jungle, which, and their shouting, informed us where they were collecting their troops. Several other determined assaults were made on various sides of the pagoda, which were repelled by our guns and heavy file-firing, which drove them back. The last attack was made the day before the arrival of the troops. On the morning in question (the 13th), at 20 minutes past 5 o'clock, under cover of a dense fog which hung over the ground below the pagoda, a shout was suddenly heard, and a large body of men rushed across an open piece of ground on the south-east angle of the stockade, which was the weakest point of the Peguers' position. A picquet, which was always kept in readiness at the head of the steps, immediately ran to their assistance, the men ranging themselves among the Peguers; and so determined was the attack, that our Peguers and the enemy had a hand-to-hand contest with their spears, and several were dangerously wounded; the picquet also using the bayonet at the same time. There must have been great loss on the part of the enemy, as the ground was open both to our battery and the musketry from our walls, but as the fog hung over the low lands for some time after, they were able to convey away their dead, and only three or four were found killed close to the stockade.

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In conclusion, I beg to say a few words in reference to the Officers and men composing this garrison.

Little that I can say with respect to the practical knowledge of Lieutenant Campbell, of the Bengal Engineers, which he has already gained on field service, could add to his reputation as a good service Officer, but his unremitting zeal in planning and carrying out his suggestions has mainly contributed to the small loss sustained by the troops.

Lieutenant James, of the Bengal Artillery, who was the only Artillery Officer I had to give directions for the working of the guns on the four angles of the pagoda, has performed his arduous duties much to my satisfaction.

Lieutenant Harris, of the Madras Sappers, who has but recently joined that distinguished corps, has proved himself to be a most efficient Sapper Officer, from the short time he took to finish the stockade for the Peguers, and the manner in which he executed a plan for a covered gallery to enable the water-carriers to supply the troops with water with safety to themselves.

Lieutenant Dangerfield, of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, my Staff Officer, is an intelligent, enterprising, and most promising Officer, and I found I could entrust duties to him which required coolness and judgment, with perfect confidence.

The Officers and men, both European and Native, composing the garrison, have performed their duties in a most admirable and satisfactory manner. The harassing duties all were exposed to for eight days and nights, without intermission, requires no further comment than by my adding that their constant vigilance and steadiness were conspicuous throughout the whole of the operations.

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A Return of Killed and Wounded of the troops, as well as of all other classes, accompanies this report.

Return shewing the number of KILLED and WOUNDED in the Garrison of Pegu from 5th to 14th December 1852.

Wounded.

Madras Sappers and Miners, — 1 non-commissioned Officer; 1 rank and file. Total 2.

1st Madras Fusiliers,—1 European commissioned Officer, Lieutenant P. A. Brown, severe contusion; 4 rank and file, 1 since dead, 6 followers. Total 11.

5th Madras N. I.,—1 European commissioned Officer, Ensign Chadwick, severe contusion; 1 Native ditto; 1 non-commissioned Officer; 11 rank and file, 3 followers. Total 17.

Peguers,—10. Total 10.

Killed.

5th Madras N.I.,—1 rank and file, 1 follower. Total 2.

Peguers,—3. Total 3.

Grand total of Killed and Wounded.—45.

(Signed) W. HILL, Major, Commanding Pegu.

Pegu, the 18th December 1852.

Extract from a Letter from Lieut.-Colonel STURT, Commanding the Land Column, dated *Pegu, December* 19, 1852.

Leaving Rangoon on the morning of the 13th of December, yesterday afternoon my detachment came in sight of Pegu, and I moved my camp only a short distance this morning towards the river, for the purpose of facilitating its crossing when necessary.

Aware of the value of Light Artillery and Cavalry in support of a movement against foes so difficult to be

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approached as the Burmese, it was my most earnest desire to have placed the services of these two Arms, composing a part of the column under my command, at Major-General Godwin's disposal at the earliest possible period, and it was not therefure without a feeling of great regret I found my best exertions ineffectual to secure the above object, the General commanding the Forces having left Pegu two days previous to my arrival.

The extent of country traversed by my column, though not exceeding perhaps 72 miles, presented considerable obstacles to the rapid advance of artillery, and a long train of carriages with supplies for the troops.

Three bridges were obliged to be constructed over tidal nullahs, marshy tracks to be rendered firm, roads to be cut, and their course even to be marked out by the friendly Karens.

These people, to the number of upwards of 100, made themselves very useful on the road, and the bridges were all constructed by them with a degree of good-will and promptness much to the credit of the poor people. I beg to bring specially to the notice of the Major-General the great assistance received from a Karen, of much influence with his tribe, named Kyouk-khê, who accompanied the column the whole way from Rangoon.

After leaving Rangoon to our rear about seven miles, the country began to disclose its plains, belted at distances by jungle. The course of the column often lay closely skirting the jungles for miles, and frequently directly through them,—glades suddenly opening out, and again giving place to jungle.

Between Thoung-too-Loo, distant about 15 miles from Rangoon, and Theda-mu-thaee, 19 miles from Pegu, no-

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thing could exceed the richness of the soil,—in some parts dark alluvial, in others sandy loam; the herbage was of the finest description, and where rice crops were seen their luxuriance and height were remarkable; the cattle, invariably in the finest condition, were of a very superior hardy breed, with large carcasses.

The space between Theda-mu-thaee to within three or four miles of Pegu was found to be of a dense jungly description; forest trees, with low brushwood and bamboos, clumps upon clumps, forming the most formidable natural barriers and breastworks. Artillery and baggage-carts once having entered these narrow tracks, skirted on either side by such cover, without the possibility of countermarching if required, could not possibly escape early destruction at the hands of a small body of resolute determined men, who would themselves be perfectly secure from pursuit. Where occasionally an opening occurred in this wild portion of the march, it presented a clear grass plain of some five, ten, fifteen, or more acres, surrounded by the densest jungle. My column was obliged to halt fifteen times during this march, which occupied the troops ten hours and a half, and my baggage was not up till night.

Not an enemy was seen throughout our whole course, though evidences of their having lately vacated these wilds were frequently observed.

(True extracts.)

(Signed) C. ALLEN, Officiating Sec^{y} to the Gov^{t} of India.

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LETTER REFERRED TO AT PAGE 119 OF THE NARRATIVE.

PEGU, 28*th November* 1852.

On the 24th the gun-boats, which lie off the Commissariat wharf, one and a half miles from the pagoda, were attacked from the west bank, but we soon drove off the Burmans. We wrought hard the following days, repairing the wall of the upper terrace by stockading, and cleared away a good deal of the jungle. Last night, at 9 o'clock, I was woke up by firing on the east face, and before I could get to our howitzer on the north-east corner a sergeant had fired a round of grape into the middle of a crowd of Burmese who were making a tremendous noise at the foot of the steps. I then fired another,—and we discovered that the pagoda was attacked *all round,* and the gun-boats and wharf, where a picquet of 30 Europeans and 30 Sepoys were placed, began firing at the sametime, so there must have been about 5,000 men altogether. They kept up a heavy fire at the steps for some time, and from a mound about 100 yards in front, where I sent two shells, which burst beautifully. The other howitzer at the west gate was fired once with grape at a crowd of men who rushed out from the left of the steps, and tried to escape over the plain. The firing continued sharp till about 12 o'clock. They had a jingal pointed at the north gate, but all their shots were too high. We could hear them plainly shouting to one another, and horses neighing, but saw very few, as the jungle was so thick. They got up into the trees and sniped at us, but were soon driven out of their perches. My want of ammunition prevented me from firing as I ought. I hope some notice has been

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taken of Major Hill's letter applying for more; cannister is principally wanted, as they can get within 50 yards of the wall without being seen. We cannot get coolies to clear the jungles, and our own men are worn out with fatigue parties; there were only just enough to line the walls of the upper terrace, without any reserve. Luckily two more gun-boats arrived yesterday, or the picquet and one gun-boat would have been cut off, as they were attacked from both sides of the river. The picquet had formed a small defence of barrels, &c., but the Burmans set fire to the houses to windward, and they only just saved the provisions, and managed to turn off the fire. About 12 they sent up a signal rocket, and then gave three cheers, but the firing did not cease down there or up here till 3 A.M., when all was quiet; and about 5 A.M., just as the moon set, we heard them calling off the stragglers. In the morning we found at the south-west corner three dead bodies, and a lot of scaling ladders of different lengths, capitally made; on the east gateway we found two dead bodies, and sundry dāhs, spears, knives, and latties. The enemy seem to have come through a hole in the mound opposite the gate, and deployed in the jungle right and left, but how they got so close without being heard is a mystery to me. Young C—— of the 5th was nearly caught; thinking all was over about 2 A.M., he was sitting smoking on the wall when he saw the gleam of a musket in the moonlight, and immediately fired a pistol at the bearer, who ran, but was shot directly. The men are quite knocked up, as they have been obliged to go to the beach for the last four days to bring up provisions. Luckily they are all up now, and four more boats have come and brought some bullocks for fresh beef. I think this would be a

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beautiful place to live in if it were not so isolated; the climate is delicious, but the dew is very heavy at night, and my gunners feel the want of their bedding as they are obliged to sleep in the open air on account of mosquitoes, which are positively *awful* here,—curtains are scarcely of any use. I hope the bedding will soon be sent, also the Lascars' bundles, and cooking things. Has any arrangement been made about withdrawing our Apothecary? The poor chap has not even a change of clothes, and only a mat to sleep on. We have only one man (Murray) in hospital from dysentery. We have no wounded beyond two or three of the picquet slightly in the hands and arms last night. Excuse this scrambling letter, as the boat goes early to-morrow, and I must send this directly. My principal wants are ammunition, the mens' bedding, the Lascars' small traps, and some money. I hope this will reach you before you start if you are destined for Prome. Tell L—— about the attack, I suppose we shall soon have another.

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APPENDIX IX.

A CURIOUS BURMESE DOCUMENT.*

[Translation of a Burmese Document found in the Tseekay's House on the storming of Martaban on the 5th April 1852; date unknown, but under the same envelope with documents from Lieutenant Hopkinson, P. A. C., to the Governor of Martaban, dated January 28, 1852.]

List of the MEN, GUNS, JINGALS, MUSKETS, BULLETS, POWDER, and PADDY in MARTABAN.

	FIGHTING MEN.		
	Former force.	Reinforcements.	Total.
	Men.	Men.	Men.
Beling, - - -	291	278	569
Yea-Oung, - -	31	34	65
Tiek-Kalăh, (or Kiektoh)	325	75	400
Martaban Village, -	82	...	82
Binlaeng, - - -	22	...	22
Koh-Goon, - - -	5	...	5
Yenyeeng, - -	20	...	20
Goh, - - - -	11	...	11
Artillerymen, - -	11	13	24
Total, - -	798	400	1198

* Presented to the Author by Mr Hannay, Moulmein.

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AMMUNITION, &c.

Copper Guns,	8	
Iron Guns,	15	
Jingals,	45	
	viss.	ticals.*
Saltpetre,	84	50
Powder, prepared,	883	...
Sulphur,	457	...
Lead,	600	...
Flints,	1745 in Number.	
Cannon and Jingal Balls,	1855	„
Leaden Bullets,	1100	„

Paddy in the Granary, received from the former Governor Kouk-Kyoung-Boh,	14,109½	baskets.
Paddy of the year 1210,	3,415	„
Ditto, 1211,	2,745	„
Ditto, 1212,	2,915	„
	23,184½	baskets.
Consumed by the Forces,	7,642	
	15,542½	

* For the sake of English readers it may be stated that a *viss* weighs 3 lb. ·65, and a *tical* $\frac{1}{100}$th part of this. A basket of paddy weighs from 56 to 58 lbs.

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APPENDIX X.

KARENS.

REGARDING this curious race it may be interesting to present the following information from the Ethnological portion of the recent work on Burmah by the Rev. F. Mason. They will be so much mixed up with the future civilisation and enlightenment of our new territory that aught concerning the Karens from an author of such talent and research as Mr Mason is indeed valuable:—

"When I first came to this coast the Karens were regarded as the aborigines of the country, but they were probably in reality the last people to enter it among the various tribes that the British found here when they took possession of the Provinces.

"They regard themselves as wanderers from the north, and one of their traditions states that a party of them came across 'the river of running sand' on an exploring tour, before the Shans were established at Zimmay, and returned again. The crossing of the river of running sand is regarded as having been an arduous work. They understand by these waters, or river of running sand (the words admit of either rendering), an immense quicksand, with the sands in motion like the waters of a river. The tradition was quite unintelligible to me until the Journal

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of Fa. Hian, the Chinese pilgrim who visited India about the fifth century, threw a sun-beam on the expression. He constantly designates the great desert north of Burmah, and between China and Thibet, as 'the river of sand;' and in the Chinese map of India a branch of this desert is seen to stretch down south, for several degrees of latitude, and then turn and run westward for a long distance. This desert is marked 'quicksands.' There can therefore scarcely be a rational doubt but that this is 'the river of running sand' which their ancestors crossed at a remote period before Zimmay was founded. Tradition further states that when the Karen Nation immigrated to this country they found the Shans, contrary to their expectation, dwelling in the region of Zimmay. Serica and Sera, and the river Serus, are represented by Ptolemy as in the region north of Burmah; and from incidental notices in the old poetry of the Karens it appears that there was a country north of these Provinces known to them in ancient times by the name of Sairai. One stanza runs thus:—

'The waters of Sai-rai, of Sai-rai,
The country of Sai-rai, of Sai-rai;
It is famous for the frogs that are there,
It is famous for the fish that are there.'

"Malte Brun, on the authority of Marco Polo, says—'The country of Caride is the southest point of Thibet, and perhaps the country of the Nation of the Canaines, which is spread over Ava;' and *Teen*—a word signifying heaven, but used by some of the Chinese to signify God—occurs in Karen poetry as the name of the God of a people with whom they were formerly connected. The Karen language

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also indicates a connection with tribes on the borders of Thibet.

"Besides the Khakyeens north of Ava, there are known to be two distinct tribes of Karens. One tribe call themselves Shos, but are called by the Sgaus 'Pwos,' and by the Burmese 'Meetkhyeens' or 'Talaing Karens.' The other tribe call themselves Sgaus, but by the Burmese are designated 'Meethos' or 'Burman Karens.'

"To these some add the Karenees, or Red Karen, but they are more usually regarded as a Shan tribe. Their language, from Karen testimony, and from the examination of a few words, appears not to be so nearly related to either Pwo or Sgau as the latter are to each other; but there are manifestly many roots common to all three, as in Karen and Toungthu. The Burmans call them Red Karens from a portion of their dress being red; and the Karens call them *Mannepgha*, or kidnappers, from their practice of kidnapping their neighbours and selling them into slavery. None of them live within the boundaries of the British territories, or Burmah Proper, nor have they ever been visited by missionaries, but Dr Richardson travelled through their country in 1837. They appear to occupy a strip of land in the valley of the Salween, between Burmah and the Shan States. Dr Richardson wrote that they were in the lowest state of civilisation, and appeared few in number,—perhaps as numerous as the Toungthus.

"The Pwos and Sgaus are scattered all over the Tenasserim Provinces, the southern parts of Burmah, and Arracan. Their languages, though dialects of a common language, and both easily acquired when one has been mastered, are sufficiently distinct to make a Pwo unintelligible to a Sgau, and a Sgau to a Pwo, unless both idioms

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have been studied. The Sgaus are remarkable for the Scriptural traditions that exist among them. They have traditions of the creation, the temptation, the fall, and the dispersion of nations, in prose and verse, nearly as accurate as they are found in the Bible. The following is a single specimen :—

'Anciently, God commanded, but Satan appeared bringing destruction:
Formerly God commanded, but Satan appeared deceiving unto death.
The woman E-u and the man Tha-nai pleased not the eye of the dragon,
The persons of E-u and Tha-nai pleased not the mind of the dragon,
The dragon looked on them,—the dragon beguiled the woman and Tha-nai.

'How is this said to have happened?
The great dragon succeeded in deceiving—deceiving unto death.

'How do they say it was done?
A yellow fruit took the great dragon, and gave to the children of God.
A white fruit took the great dragon, and gave to the daughter and son of God.

'They transgressed the commands of God, and God turned his face from them.
They transgressed the commands of God, and God turned away from them.
They kept not all the words of God—were deceived, deceived unto sickness;
They kept not all the law of God—were deceived, deceived unto death.'

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"The languages of both tribes have been reduced to writing, and various works prepared in the two idioms. In the Sgau a dictionary and grammar have been printed; the whole Bible has been translated; two editions of the New Testament; one of Genesis, Exodus, and Psalms, printed; and between 30 and 40 other books. In the Pwo, a grammar, a small vocabulary, and about half the New Testament, have been printed, and less than a dozen other works. Newspapers are also printed in both dialects, and in Burmese. In the Tenasserim Provinces alone more than 50 different villages and hamlets have been occupied for a longer or shorter period by native assistants, under the direction of the missionaries, most of whom have had charge of schools."

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APPENDIX XI.

NOTES FURNISHED BY A MADRAS OFFICER ON THE SITANG BORE.

THE bore in the Sitang river is stated to be at the mouth, and for some miles up, thrice as high as the surf at Madras, (from 25 to 30 feet!) Commodore Lynch, I. N., told me that the best information he had been able to procure at Moulmein and elsewhere on the coast, confirmed this account of it. He had, I believe, consulted a merchant-captain named Miller, residing at Moulmein, who had been in the Sitang and witnessed the ebb and flow. The Commodore explained to me why the bore should be of so much greater magnitude in the Sitang than in almost any other river, arising from its disemboguing in almost the extreme east corner of the Bay of Martaban, where the pressure of the flood at spring-tides, and with a current setting up the bay, must be very great, with little or no lateral escape. Speaking of his intention of sending Lieutenant Ward to survey its mouth, the Commodore said his plan of taking light steamers and boats up the river, if necessitated, would be as follows:—After having shoals, rocks, sand-banks, &c., marked off with buoys, he should await the flood outside—push in, and follow it as fast as possible—get on as far as he could before the ebb, and

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take the boats up some convenient creek in readiness for the succeeding flood, where, "*da capo!*" I heard Brigadier W—— say that he had himself seen the bore in the Sitang (as I think) upwards of 20 miles above its mouth, and that it was above 20 feet high,—a wall of water that no boat could have lived in. On the other hand the inhabitants of Sitang spoke of the effects of the bore there slightly, saying, that unless in spring-tides, at particular seasons, it never exceeded 3½ to 4½ feet in height, and was not dangerous. The tide, they say, is felt as high as Shoé-Gyne, the river rising and falling about 3 feet. The last particulars are from the Sitang Chief, Moung-Goung!

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APPENDIX XII.

TONGHOO DESPATCHES—MARTABAN COLUMN.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort-William, Foreign Department, the 19th March 1853.

THE Most Noble the Governor-General in Council has much satisfaction in publishing, for general information, Extracts of a Despatch from Brigadier-General Steel, C.B., dated 23d February, in which he reports the occupation of Tonghoo by the force under his command, and the expulsion of the Burmese troops from the eastern side of the Province.

Although the invariable retreat of the enemy before the force has afforded it little opportunity of proving its superiority in the field, yet its steady discipline, its forbearance from all excesses, and its alacrity in the performance of every duty, have well deserved the applause of the Governor-General in Council, and command his confidence.

His Lordship in Council desires to convey to Brigadier-General Steel his best thanks for the manner in which he has conducted the expedition to its successful issue; as

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well as to the several Officers whom the Brigadier-General has specially named in his Despatch.

And to all Officers, non-commissioned Officers, and Soldiers, the Governor-General in Council has to offer the assurance of his approbation.

By Order of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council,

(Signed) C. ALLEN, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

Extract of a Despatch from Brigadier-General S. W. STEEL, C. B., Commanding the Martaban Column, dated *Camp, Tonghoo, February* 23, 1853, to C. ALLEN, Esquire.

My last Despatch, No. 18, dated the 15th instant, reported my having marched that day from Shway-Gheen. Between that place and Kyouk-Ghee the villages were entirely deserted from fear of the Burman forces; a few of the inhabitants stole in from the jungle to communicate with us; they were supplied with copies of the Proclamation, and encouraged to return to their homes.

The force arrived at Kyouk-Ghee on the 17th instant, apparently before it was expected. No one had come out to meet us, and the few people outside of the stockade looked in silent wonder on our approach across the fine running stream which nearly surrounds the place. The highest authority left within the town was an Officer of inferior rank, called a "Goung," who opened the gates and accompanied us around the enclosure, pointing out the guns and other arms, of which a return is enclosed. The stockade is on the same simple plan, and about the same size as Beling, but more dilapidated. Safeguards were posted to protect the place; and a fine bazaar was opened,

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to which the troops and followers were admitted. Captain Clogstoun, an Officer of the Quartermaster-General's Department, had proceeded with an escort of Irregular Horse to reconnoitre the road in advance, when it was discovered that some of the Chiefs who had left Kyouk-Ghee during the previous night were but a short distance in front. The remainder of the Horse were immediately sent on under their Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Lambert, to join the escort in advance. They fell in with the party, and a number of carts loaded with families (women, children, and baggage,) about five miles from camp. There were with this party about 100 or more men, armed with muskets,—two guns, and some jingals; and in the first encounter, before it was discovered that they did not intend to fire, two or three of their men were hurt.

Two of the chief Officers belonging to Kyouk-Ghee, with two "Tseekays," or assistants to Moungbwa, Ex-Governor of Martaban, were brought in. They had no desire to escape, but asserted that they had been forced by Moungbwa to accompany him. I permitted them all, according to their own desire, to return and reside in the town of Kyouk-Ghee. Moungbwa, riding in a cart and commonly dressed, was not recognised, and escaped in the crowd. A Company of the 5th Madras Native Infantry, under Captain James, was sent out to escort the families to the town, which was safely effected by the evening. Five elephants and twenty-five ponies were captured on this occasion.

The force marched again the following morning, the 18th, and on the 21st instant, by a march of 18¼ miles, was able to reach the Sitang river, at Thandobin. On

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the opposite bank of the river, attended by a party of 30 men armed with muskets, a mounted Officer was seen, who hailed the first of our advance who entered the bed of the river, asking what we wanted; saying we were both great Nations and ought not to be at war! He was informed, in reply, that if he had any communication to make he might come across the river. He declined this proposal very peremptorily, and shortly afterwards the whole party disappeared. I have since learned that he is named Mounglay, an Officer of some rank, and that he returned direct to this city. The river, about four feet deep at the ford, with a rapid current, was passed yesterday, commencing at daylight. The guns were all over, the troops crossing on the elephants, and the line of march formed on the right bank in order for the advance, by 7 o'clock A. M. We were met not far from the river by two of the chief Officers of this city, attended by a great number of the inhabitants, with offerings of fruits, and expressing in many ways, besides the open avowal in words, their extreme joy at our arrival. Thus accompanied, the troops at 10 A. M. entered this extraordinary city. It is a large square enclosure, surrounded by a high brick wall, with solid rampart, and outside by a broad wet ditch. Each face is considerably upwards of a mile in length. The town occupies but a small portion of this enclosure; temples, kyooms or monasteries, groves of lofty trees, and extensive fruit gardens, are interspersed among large open spaces, in one of which the force is now encamped. There is also a large natural tank. In the arsenal the guns and ammunition were found, of which a return is enclosed. The wall is of very ancient date, and the place is unten-

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able as a fortification, independently of its vast size, from the extensive dilapidation of the wall in many places, and the weak points offered by the exposed position of all the wooden gates. The latter have been newly put up within the last three months, and attempts recently made to repair the fallen wall.

The information given on my arrival here was, that Moungbwa and other Chiefs were probably still within reach of a forced march, as they had only commenced their retreat by the high road to Ava on the report brought by Mounglay, at noon the previous day, of our being then within 9 miles of them. I was therefore induced to permit the Detachment of Ramghur Irregular Cavalry, under Lieutenant Lambert, to proceed on their track, accompanied as volunteers by Captain Fanshawe, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Clogstoun, and Lieutenant Maxwell, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, and by my Aide-de-Camp, Captain Travers. A very energetic pursuit was undertaken and continued for more than 20 miles. It was given up on finding that the flying Chiefs were then nearly 10 miles in advance, and the horses unfit for further rapid movement. They returned to camp at 10 P.M. I may therefore venture to state that that part of the Proclamation promulgated on the 20th of December last, which asserted that "such Burman troops as still may remain within the Province shall be driven out," had been executed to the very letter by the 22d instant, as on that day the last of the broken forces of the Burman army was driven beyond the utmost limit contemplated. The establishment of Civil Government will immediately follow,—the Commissioner appointed to these Provinces having been expected at Shoé-Gyne by the 20th instant.

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The instructions which I received on being honoured with the command of the force, to advance from Martaban, having been fully carried out, I trust I may be permitted to bring to the favourable notice of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council the exemplary conduct of the troops employed on that service. Passing through a country never before traversed by a disciplined army, by a difficult route imperfectly known, and obliged in all difficulties to depend upon their own resources, I hope that the successful occupation of the country thus far will be considered creditable to the Army of the East India Company.

The enemy, by uniformly retreating before the force, has given it no opportunity of gaining those honours which are only won by brilliant deeds of arms, and every soldier so ardently covets; but the perfect state of discipline evinced by the whole of the troops, their kind treatment of the people, which inspired perfect confidence wherever they advanced, their forbearance from all excesses, and their high military bearing on all occasions, may well be taken as proof that the opportunity alone was wanting to add to the fame of their former fields. The victory which they *have* achieved is that difficult one of self-control, and to them is due the success of the campaign.

The Officers in command and on the Staff have, by their zealous co-operation, rendered my share of the service performed comparatively easy; the efficiency of the small park of Madras Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Anstruther, C.B., has always been conspicuous. Lieutenant A. Fraser of the Bengal Engineers, Assistant Field Engineer, has been indefatigable in his exertions

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both in the higher professional duties of an Engineer and at the head of the Company of Madras Sappers and Miners, who have maintained their well-earned name in overcoming the many difficulties of the route of march. To Lieutenant-Colonel Poole, 5th Regiment of Madras Native Infantry, commanding the line of Infantry; Major Gerrard, commanding the 1st Bengal Fusiliers; Captain Geils, commanding the detachment 1st Madras Fusiliers; Major Shubrick, commanding the 5th Madras Native Infantry; Major Welchman, commanding the 10th Bengal Native Infantry; Major Forster, commanding the details from Martaban; and to Lieutenant Lambert, commanding the detachment of Ramghur Irregular Cavalry; to each and all of them I am indebted for their ready and untiring aid on all emergencies. Of the European troops it is impossible to speak too highly.

The Sepoys of all the regiments of Infantry have cheerfully turned out, whenever required to assist in working-parties, on all occasions of difficulty, each vieing with the other to forward the service. In the departments of the Assistant Adjutant-General under Major Neill, and of the Assistant Quartermaster-General under Captain Dallas, the duties have always been zealously and efficiently performed; Major Bayly, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, from the general good conduct of the force, has happily had but little to do in his own department, and I am indebted to him for willing assistance on all occasions. From my personal Staff,—Captain Travers, Aide-de-Camp, I have ever received the most active service; Captain Dallas, as extra Aide-de-Camp, has given to me all the time not taken up by his own department; Captain Hamilton, Deputy Baggage-Master, has performed the laborious

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duties of that office with exemplary zeal and patience. Staff-Surgeon Davidson has given unremitting attention to the care and comfort of those requiring the assistance of the Medical Department. To the most efficient arrangements of the Commissariat Department, made under the orders of Major Budd, Deputy Commissary-General at Rangoon, and at Moulmein by Acting Head-Overseer Norris, the force is entirely indebted for having been enabled to continue its progress unchecked by want of supplies. I am very grateful to Major Hill, commanding at Pegu, for his ready assistance in passing on the convoys from Rangoon. Lieutenant Brander, Sub-Assistant Commissary-General in the Bengal Commissariat, and Lieutenant Chapman of the Madras Commissariat, have exerted themselves in every way during the march of the Column, and the result has been that the troops have been as well provisioned as if in garrison. I would apologise for this long detail, but I feel that when the State has been served so ably it becomes the duty of him who has to report the result to bring prominently forward the names of those who had the good fortune to be employed during the service.

MEMORANDUM of GUNS and JINGALS taken at and near KYOUK-GHEE.

Description of Guns, Jingals, &c.	Number.	REMARKS.
3¾-Pounder Iron Guns, ...	9	
Brass Jingals, ...	2	
Iron Jingals, ...	9	

(Signed) P. ARBUTHNOT, Capt. and Bt. Lt.-Colonel, Commanding Artillery.

Camp, Kyouk-Ghee, 17th February 1853.

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MEMORANDUM of ORDNANCE, AMMUNITION, &c., taken at the City of TONGHOO.

Description of Ordnance, Ammunition, &c.	Number.	REMARKS.
6-Pounder Brass Guns, ...	1	
5-Ditto ditto, ...	2	
4½-Ditto ditto, ...	2	
4-Ditto ditto, ...	4	
2-Ditto ditto, ...	2	
Total, ...	11	
6-Pounder Iron Guns, ...	3	
4-Ditto ditto, ...	3	
3½-Ditto ditto, ...	1	
3-Ditto ditto, ...	2	
2-Ditto ditto, ...	2	
1½-Ditto ditto, ...	2	
Total, ...	13	
Brass Jingals, ...	2	
Iron Jingals, ...	119	
Total, ...	121	
Flint Muskets, ...	300	
Baskets of Gunpowder, ...	201	or 8,040 lbs.
Chatties of Bullets, ...	1	or 600 lbs.
Baskets of Flints, ...	1	500 Flints.
Baskets of Brimstone, ...	1	
Large quantity of Iron Balls,	...	

(Signed) P. ANSTRUTHER, Capt. and Bt. Lt.-Colonel, Commanding Artillery.

J. G. NEILL, Major, Asst. Adjt. Genl., Martaban Column.

S. W. STEEL, Brigadier-General, Coms. Martaban Column.

Tonghoo Camp, 22d February 1853.

A true Extract and Copy.

(Signed) C. ALLEN,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

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APPENDIX XIII.

THE DONNABEW DESPATCHES.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort-William, Foreign Department, the 22d April 1853.

THE Most Noble the Governor-General in Council has much satisfaction in publishing, for general information, Extracts from Despatches reporting the operations of Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K.C.B., against the force under Myat-Toon, who had established himself near to Donnabew.

The Governor-General in Council regards with the highest admiration the gallantry, perseverance, and cheerful endurance displayed by the force under the Brigadier-General's command, throughout a service which was rendered peculiarly severe not more by the formidable resistance that was offered, than by the sufferings incident to prolonged exposure in pestilent jungle, and at such a time.

His Lordship in Council, regretting the loss that has been incurred, fully appreciates the service that has been done, and he requests the Major-General commanding the troops in Ava to convey to Brigadier-General Sir

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John Cheape, to the Officers and Soldiers whom he has specially named, and to all who were under his command, the approbation and cordial thanks of the Supreme Government.

By Order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council,

(Signed) C. ALLEN, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

Extract of a Letter from Major-General H. GODWIN, C.B., Commanding the Forces in Ava, Arracan, and Tenasserim Provinces, to C. ALLEN, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 1*st April* 1853, No. 37.

SIR,—I have the honor to forward, for the information of the Governor-General in Council, reports from Sir J. Cheape, dated the 13th and 25th ultimo, detailing the proceedings of his force since his report of the 3d ultimo, forwarded in my Despatch, No. 36, of the 15th instant.

The Governor-General in Council will see and appreciate this most arduous service, protracted as it has been from time to time by the difficult nature of the country, added to which unwilling, if not false guides, leading him in wrong directions.

The Brigadier-General so forcibly represents his various attacks, and the gallantry of the troops on every occasion, that I can add nothing more than my high sense and appreciation of their admirable conduct.

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Extract of a Despatch from Brigadier-General Sir JOHN CHEAPE, K. C. B., Commanding Bengal Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army of Ava, Prome. Dated *Donnabew, March* 25, 1853.

While at Kyomtano I ascertained the jungle to the westward to be quite impenetrable, and that there were only two routes to Kyoukazeen, one to the southward *via* Gyet-thoun-zeen, and the other to the northward by Ngyoung-youn; the distance by these routes was said to be about equal, and the same opposition and obstacles were to be expected by either. I resolved to follow the latter route.

It was desirable to give the enemy as little time as possible for preparation, and on the evening of the 17th instant, at 2 P. M., I sent on the right wing under Major Wigston, 18th R. I., consisting of H. M.'s 18th R. I. Regiment, H. M.'s 80th Regiment, and the 4th Sikh Local Regiment, with a detail of Sappers, and some rockets, to take post at a breastwork about three miles in advance, in the middle of the forest, and on the verge of a large lake. It was of importance to clear the road so far, to enable the force to march early next morning without waiting for the fog to clear off.

Major Wigston found the road clear to within about a mile of the breastwork; he had then to cut his way through many obstructions, and to open the road round felled trees, and to clear away abattis. On reaching the breastwork he found it occupied, and it was most gallantly carried by the 18th R. I. who were leading, and by the 4th Sikh Local Regiment in support. Several jingals and arms of different sorts were captured. Major Armstrong,

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4th Sikh Local Regiment, on this occasion personally distinguished himself; and I beg to send a copy of Major Wigston's letter, of date the 20th instant, reporting most favourably of the conduct of the troops. A prisoner was taken upon this occasion, who was of some use in our further advance in describing and pointing out the enemy's position.

Major Wigston bivouacked here for the night, and was undisturbed; and early the next morning, the 18th instant, I moved on with the force from Kyomtano, carrying seven days' provisions. We passed Major Wigston's party, and moved with our left wing, under Lieutenant-Colonel Sturt, consisting of H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. I. and the 67th B. N. I. in front, followed by the guns and Irregular Cavalry, and leaving the right wing to bring up the rear, and to furnish the rear-guard.

As the road was greatly obstructed, and the progress slow, I took the opportunity to send back to Kyomtano, with some Irregulars, the sick and wounded of Major Wigston's party; the escort rejoined us again with the empty doolies.

After going about two miles through forest, and passing breastworks, from which only an occasional shot was fired, our guides instead of going further by the road we had traversed on the 11th instant, turned sharp off to the left; along this path the obstructions and felled trees continued for about a mile, and the road was so rough that one of the ammunition waggons was overturned and the pole broken; it was necessary to leave it, and the ammunition boxes were packed on spare hackeries.

We arrived at noon at a piece of water on our right, where I halted for an hour to refresh the men, and at one

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P.M. we moved on; the obstructions were very great, and it occupied about two hours getting a mile further; there was some firing also, and the enemy were reported to be in a position close at hand.

We at last had a very sharp fire opened on us from the left. A fire had been lighted in that quarter to obscure the vision, and the whole place was obstructed and entangled with abattis in front and along the left; part of the 67th N. I., with the Rifles, engaged the enemy to the left, and we managed to clear the path to the front so as to advance the 51st K. O. L. I., and to bring the guns and rockets to bear upon the enemy, whose position however was so covered and hidden that we could only judge of it from the direction of the fire on our troops.

The road or path was at length sufficiently cleared, and the charge was ordered; the breastwork was most gallantly carried by H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. I. and the 67th N.I.,—Captain Singleton, 51st Regiment, leading the advance. Ensign Boileau, of the 67th N. I., was I regret to say killed while gallantly attacking the enemy on our left flank.

The enemy's loss I was unable to ascertain, but his force here consisted of 1,000 men, with one gun, which was carried off, and Myat-Toon was present in person. This I learned from a prisoner who was taken.

We lost no time in following up the enemy, but after proceeding along an open road for about a mile, I thought it advisable, it being nearly 5 P.M., to halt at a piece of water, Ngyoung-Kymug, said to be distant about three miles from Kyomtano, but with a heavy jungle intervening, in which the enemy were reported to be in force.

At 8 P.M. I fired, at the request of Captain Smith, Deputy Commissioner, three signal rockets, for the infor-

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mation of Captain Fytche, who had promised to co-operate to the westward and northward of Kyoukazeen; they were replied to by guns, and during the night, on the report that the enemy were felling trees close in our front, a few shot and shells were fired at them, with good effect I believe.

On the morning of the 19th instant, at 7 A.M., we moved on, the right wing leading, and the left wing in rear of the Artillery. H. M.'s 80th Regiment formed the advance guard, and was followed by the Sappers clearing the road; the enemy's position was described as being at Ngyoung-Goun-lya, the head of the piece of water on our right, and along the edge of which, or very near it, the road lay. I expected to find the enemy posted on the opposite bank, and that we should have to come under a flanking fire before being able to reach his right and turn the position where the nullah is dry; it did not seem reasonable to expect that his left flank would be found unprotected, and I therefore did not think it worth while to pass a party across the water to try that flank; it would have been useless, as I afterwards found that an extensive and impassable marsh, though invisible from our side, covered his left flank; the forest was so dense on our left that to cut a new road direct from the nullah, entirely round the enemy's right, would have been very laborious, and would have occupied a very long time, and the sickness amongst our troops had become so alarming that great danger would have accrued from the delay. I was withal unwilling to diverge from the path our guides led us, there had been already so much uncertainty and difficulty about finding the road that it seemed the safest plan to get at the enemy as speedily as we could, and I trusted to a rapid

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advance, supported by our guns and rockets, and relied on carrying the enemy's breastwork on the right, the moment we should reach it. . . . . .

The Chief I am sorry to say escaped, but I lost no time in sending on Major Cotton of the 67th N.I., with 100 men of his own regiment, and 100 of the 51st K. O. L. I. under Captain Irby, to Kyomtano, about two miles distant. Here they found Captain Fytche on the opposite bank of the nullah.

Myat-Toon's force being broken up and dispersed, it remained for Captain Fytche and Captain Smith, the Deputy Commissioners, to take measures for his pursuit and apprehension. Parties of Captain Fytche's Karens were immediately detached for the purpose; the report brought in stated that he was moving about with merely a few followers, in different quarters,—and a number of his principal followers surrendered themselves.

The inhabitants, of whom there was a very large number, probably from 10,000 to 20,000, had concealed themselves in the jungle, but began to come in on the 20th, and, under directions from Captain Fytche, commenced to move off with such property as they had, in boats, of which there were an immense number in the creek or nullah.

He had given them notice of his intention to burn the place down immediately on our leaving it.

On the morning of the 20th Captain Tarleton, R. N., to whom I had forwarded intimation on the previous day of our having forced Myat-Toon's position, arrived at Kyoukazeen with several boats. He had been long lying at the mouth of the creek with steamers and gun-boats to cut off Myat-Toon's retreat in that direction.

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His co-operation was now most valuable, and the exertions of his Officers and men must have been very great in cutting through felled trees thrown across a narrow nullah, and in removing stakes and obstructions of every description, impeding the passage along a distance of 15 miles.

Difficulties and impediments seemed to vanish before him and his boats' crews, and by one P.M. of the 21st, we had a sufficient number of the boats found in the nullah prepared for the conveyance of our sick and wounded men and of our Artillery. The whole started off,—were shipped on board the steamer on the following morning,—and carried up to Donnabew the same day; every bad case of the sick and wounded being transhipped to the *Phlegethon* on passing Yandoon, which vessel was dispatched to Rangoon. Such dispatch, under no ordinary difficulties, seems to me well worthy of being recorded.

We reached Kyomtano on the night of the 22d, and Akyo on the following day, and on the evening of the 24th the whole force, with baggage and stores, had arrived at Donnabew.

I grieve to say the sickness was very great from cholera, in particular at Kyomtano. A return is appended of the loss we have sustained from sickness, as well as in engagements with the enemy.

A return of the captured ordnance is also forwarded. The guns and rocket-tube belonging to the steamers have been made over to Captain Tarleton.

I propose to embark immediately with the whole of the troops, and return to Prome. Such of the men as cannot be conveyed in the steamers will proceed in country boats.

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I trust the manner in which the service has been performed will be approved of by the Major-General;—Myat-Toon's force has been dispersed and scattered; his guns taken, and his stronghold and villages containing his supplies and resources burnt down, and the population removed; he himself is a fugitive and an outlaw; and although he will probably be joined by some of the worst and most desperate characters amongst his former followers, he will never be able to regain his former importance and power, and will no doubt ere long be captured by the exertions and vigilance of the civil authorities.

On the conclusion of this service it is my duty to bring to the notice of the Major-General the excellent conduct of the troops.

Major Reid, and the Officers and men of the Artillery, have rendered the most efficient service during the whole of the operations, and the brave and gallant manner in which the guns were brought forward and worked on the 19th instant will I trust receive the especial notice of the Major-General.

To Lieutenant Magrath, who was slightly wounded, and Lieutenants Ashe and Dobbin, my acknowledgments are due for their gallant conduct, and also to Mr Conductor Lesby, who was always in advance with the rockets, which he fired on every occasion with such precision and effect as to be of essential service to us; he was I am grieved to say very severely wounded after firing almost his last rocket on the 19th instant; he may I trust recover, and I would recommend him most strongly to the Major-General's notice and the favour of Government.

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To Lieutenant Mullins, and the detachment of Madras Sappers and Miners, the greatest praise is due; the work executed by the men was most laborious, and the zeal and talent with which their energies were directed by Lieutenant Mullins, are most creditable to him. He was ably seconded by Lieutenant Trevor, and I am mainly indebted to these Officers and the men under them, for enabling the troops to reach the enemy's position.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Sturt, Commanding the left wing of the force, and to Major Wigston, Commanding the right wing, my best acknowledgments are due, for the aid I have received from them, and for the gallant manner in which they brought their troops into action.

I beg to bring to the Major-General's notice Major Holdich, H. M's 80th Regiment, Major Cotton, 67th N. I., Major Armstrong, 5th Sikh Local Regiment; Captain Irby, H. M's. 51st K. O. L. I., and Captain Armstrong of of H. M's. 18th R. I. Regiment, and the Officers and men of the detachments under their respective Commands; the whole of them behaved with great gallantry, and are entitled to my best acknowledgments.

My best thanks are due to Captain Bruce, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, for the able manner in which he has performed his duties, and for the assistance he has afforded me on every occasion.

To Captain Garden, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, I have to tender my best acknowledgments for the very efficient aid I have received from him in his department, the duties of which have been very arduous.

I would bring to the notice of the Major-General Lieutenant Pilmer, H. M's. 51st K. O. L. I., Brigade Quartermaster, 1st Madras Brigade, who, by permission,

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accompanied this expedition. He has rendered the most essential service to the force in carrying orders and in seeing them executed in many cases of emergency, and has undergone great fatigue and shown much zeal for the Service. He is a most able Staff-Officer, and I would recommend him strongly to the Major-General's notice.

Lieutenant Thompson, my Aide-de-Camp, has been of the greatest service to me, and has shown great intelligence as well as displayed great gallantry, and I would recommend him strongly to the notice and favour of the Major-General.

To Surgeon Andrews, 67th N. I., and the Medical Department, I have to return my best thanks for the performance of their very arduous duties in the care of the sick and wounded; and to Assistant-Surgeon Murphy, Staff-Surgeon to the Division, in particular my special thanks are due; he was the senior Medical Officer until the arrival of the reinforcements from Rangoon, and all the arrangements made by him have been most perfect. On the 19th instant the wounded men were attended to by him under a very heavy fire, and though wounded (I am happy to say very slightly), it did not deter him a moment from the zealous discharge of his duties; he has performed them throughout in the most unwearied and able manner, accompanying the men in the boats to the steamers, and seeing them carefully attended to and disposed of. I consider the force fortunate indeed in having a Medical Officer of his talent and character in such trying circumstances, and I feel assured the Major-General will accord his approbation of the services of this Officer.

The deficiency in the Commissariat Department was supplied from Rangoon, Lieutenant Mackellar being sent

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from thence. The duties have been most ably and creditably performed by this Officer; and the force, ever since his arrival, has been most regularly and amply supplied with provisions, although under circumstances of great difficulty from want of transport. His very efficient subordinate, Mr Conductor Horton, I am grieved to say, died on the march from Kyomtano on the 8th instant, of cholera, brought on I fear by over exertion and fatigue in the discharge of his duties. He was a most energetic Officer, and is a loss to the Service.

Captain Smith, the Deputy Commissioner, has accompanied the force throughout this service, and has been most zealous in obtaining for us every aid the country could supply.

The co-operation of the Naval force has been most effective, and has conduced greatly to the success of the expedition; and I feel deeply indebted to Commodore Lambert, and to Captain Tarleton and his Officers and men, for the aid and assistance they have so promptly given us on every opportunity or occasion of difficulty.

Return of KILLED and WOUNDED of the Expeditionary Force, from 27th February to 19th March 1853.

Killed.

Bengal Artillery.—1 lascar and 1 horse.

H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish.—9 rank and file.

H. M.'s 51st Light Infantry.—1 European Officer and 1 sergeant.

H. M.'s 80th Regiment of Foot.—1 rank and file.

67th Regiment N. I.—1 European Officer and 1 rank and file.

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4th Regiment Sikh Infantry—1 Native Officer, 2 sergeants, and 4 rank and file.

Wounded.

Bengal Artillery.—2 European Officers, 1 Warrant Officer, 3 rank and file, 2 lascars, and 2 horses.

Madras Sappers and Miners.—1 European Officer and 1 rank and file.

H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish.—3 European Officers, 1 sergeant, and 31 rank and file.

H. M.'s 51st Light Infantry.—15 rank and file.

H. M.'s 80th Regiment of Foot.—3 European Officers, 4 sergeants, and 9 rank and file.

67th Regiment N. I.—1 European Officer and 8 rank and file.

4th Regiment Sikh Infantry.—2 European Officers, 1 Native Officer, 2 sergeants, 1 trumpeter, and 17 rank and file.

Total Killed.

2 European Officers; 1 Native Officer; 18 Warrant and Non-commissioned Officers, rank and file; 1 lascar, and 1 horse.—22.

Total Wounded.

12 European Officers; 1 Native Officer; 93 Warrant and Non-commissioned Officers, rank and file; 2 lascars, and 2 horses.—108.

Grand Total of killed and wounded.—130.

(Signed) J. Cheape, Brigadier-General,
Commanding Bengal Division, Army of Burmah.

(Signed) M. Bruce, Captain,
Deputy Assist. Adjutant-General, Bengal Division,
Army of Burmah.

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NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Killed.

9th M. N. I.—Lieutenant Taylor.

67th B. N. I.—Ensign Boileau.

Wounded.

Bengal Artillery.—Major Reid, severely.

Madras Artillery.—Lieutenant Magrath, slightly.

Bengal Engineers.—Lieutenant Trevor, slightly.

H. M.'s 18th R. I.—Major Wigston, severely; Lieutenant Cockburn, mortally; Lieutenant Woodwright, slightly.

H. M.'s 80th Foot.—Lieutenant Wilkinson, severely; Ensign Wolsely, severely; Assistant-Surgeon Murphy, slightly.

67th B. N. I.—Lieutenant Clarke, severely.

4th Sikhs.—Major Armstrong, severely; Lieutenant Rawlins, severely.

(True extracts.)

(Signed) C. ALLEN, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

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APPENDIX XIV.

THE LATE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON THE SECOND BURMESE WAR.

EVERYTHING from the pen of the late illustrious Duke of Wellington is of interest to the British Nation. The indefatigable Earl of Ellenborough had asked the Government for the production of a Despatch written twenty-eight years ago, which embodied the Duke's opinion regarding the First Burmese War. His Lordship, it is well known, had evinced a decided hostility to the cause and prosecution of the present war. The result of his demand was an answer from Lord Aberdeen, and a justification from Lord Derby. The latter was supported by the opinion of the Duke on the present war, which, "as one of the last public productions of His Grace, is worthy of perusal and record,"—and which, notwithstanding the length of this Appendix, the Author feels the necessity of inserting as a concluding ornament to his Narrative.

Earl Derby said—"I am sure your Lordships will not think I am trespassing on your patience if I read to the House this memorandum by the noble and gallant Duke, and which only his death has prevented us receiving from his own mouth:—

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"'It appears to me,' he says, 'that the war could not be averted; that the operations fixed upon were judicious; have been ably carried into execution, and with great gallantry, by the Officers and troops; and that a commencement has been made to require from, and enable the Government to consider of the means to be adopted for the restoration of peace, and the terms on which peace should be restored. I concur with the Governor-General in thinking it will be absolutely necessary to retain possession of all that has fallen into the hands of the British troops—that is, Rangoon, Martaban, and even Bassein, Pegu, and the whole Province so-called. My opinion is that it will be necessary to continue the preparations for carrying on the operations of the war till the Sovereign of Ava shall be convinced of the necessity of signing a treaty, by the provisions of which all these dominions will be ceded to the British Government, or till the State of Ava shall be destroyed. A mere Military possession of these districts would be but an inglorious and little secure result of these successful operations. I confess that I am inclined to expect that the means adopted to cut off from Ava the supplies of corn usually received by imports from sea, will have the effect of producing efforts to obtain peace by negotiation; but if not, the British Government ought to be in a state of Military preparation to advance upon Ava,—to enforce the abandonment of the capital, and even of Ameerapoora. It may be relied upon that the natives of the East are not better prepared than we are to abandon their dwellings in the winter, and to live in the jungles and mountains. The Government suspected of intending to take such a course would be abandoned by all its followers. At all events, the Mili-

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tary possession and tenure of provinces and possessions upon the sea coast would be considered in a very different light, the Government of Ava being there seated in strength, as under existing circumstances; or being driven out and weakened towards Ameerapoora, or farther on in the mountains, as is supposed in the printed papers. I conceive therefore that it will be necessary to assemble the large force proposed, even though it should be determined to insist upon the cession of all the maritime possessions of the State of Ava. These must be ceded by the stipulations of a Treaty of Peace, or the State must be destroyed. If, after all, the Sovereign should treat for peace in order to save his State, he must be made to pay the expenses of the war. The necessity for providing specially for the security of the people of Pegu, discussed in the Minutes of the Members of the Council, appears to me to be disposed of; but it may be relied upon that the point will have much effect in both Houses of Parliament. It appears to me that the people of Pegu have already, by their conduct, acquired the right to claim protection by stipulation of treaty, if the Province should be restored to the Government of Ava, however objectionable all such provisions of treaties, as leading to, and rendering necessary, interference in the internal affairs of a Foreign Nation. The demand of the cession would certainly be preferable to restoration, with a stipulation of amnesty to the people of Pegu, of which it would be necessary for the British Government to enforce the execution.'"—*March 5*, 1853.

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POSTSCRIPT.

THE AUTHOR'S TRIBUTE TO THE DEPARTED GENERAL.

Tonghoo, Pegu Province,
December 5, 1853.

THERE are few, if any, members of the British Army in Burmah who will not receive with deep regret the intelligence that General Godwin is dead! * It seems difficult even to believe the melancholy fact that our late gallant Commander is no more; that the energetic spirit—so popular among the European and Native soldiery—so courteous to all who knew him—so cool in the presence of danger—the man who stuck fast by the path of obedience and duty amidst the severest storm of calumny that ever fell upon the head of a General—yes, it is difficult to believe that Godwin has passed away! At the Rangoon dinner, on the eve of his departure from

* He died at Simlah on the 26th of October. The Commander-in-Chief deplored his loss in an excellent General Order to the Army,—the loss of an ardent promoter of its interests.

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this country, he alluded to his "*duty in obeying orders* and acting up to his instructions;" also, with reference to the decorations which he proudly wore, he said, "Gentlemen, these honours mark my slight services to my Country." About to receive from his Sovereign, after his hard work was done, new marks of favour for highly successful though not popular services in Eastern Asia—alas! the blow is struck—the silver cord is severed—the soldier's hope on earth exists no more! All is quiet and unadorned in the grave! It was natural to picture the veteran in his native land—notwithstanding all that had been said and written against him—enjoying the honours which success with a generous Nation ever commands, and living comparatively retired in the enjoyment of a lengthy green old age, which, from his energy and activity, many believed he would enjoy. But no, Providence willed it otherwise. About to resume his military duties, he is suddenly taken away amid the splendid mountain scenery of Simlah, where the sun shines peacefully over his grave, away from the land which he had rescued from tyranny and oppression. Little did we think that in the list of casualties during the Second Burmese War we should have had to enrol the name of the General, although his constitution must nevertheless have been impaired by unceasing fatigue and anxiety in the performance of his duties. Striking events in the history of this war:—The Admiral dies in harness in the middle of

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it,—the General expires at the end, as if modestly to shun any addition to "the boast of heraldry, the pomp of power!" Doubtless greater Captains have recently passed away in another quarter of the world, but we venture to say that none of these mighty heroes of old England possessed the fine spirit of a soldier in a higher degree than the late Chief of the Army in Burmah. Peace be to his memory!

A Meeting was held in the Artillery Mess House, Tonghoo, on the 6th December, 1853, by permission of Brigadier Williams,—Lieutenant-Colonel Poole, 5th M. N. I., in the Chair, when it was unanimously resolved that a monument be erected at Rangoon to the memory of the late gallant Commander of the Army of Ava. Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Hill, 1st Madras Fusiliers, and on whom the command of the Gwalior Contingent has recently been bestowed by the Governor-General for his eminent services at Pegu; Lieutenant-Colonel Anstruther, C.B., of the Artillery; and several other Officers of the Garrison were present, all of whom took an active part in the proceedings—an example which we trust will be followed by every station in the Pegu Province.

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Province of Pegu by the Proclamation of the Governor-General of India; or, which would be better, to the Military pacification of the newly acquired territory by the defeat of the famous Burmese Chieftain, Meeah-Toon."—*The East India Army Magazine and Military Review (Calcutta.)*

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